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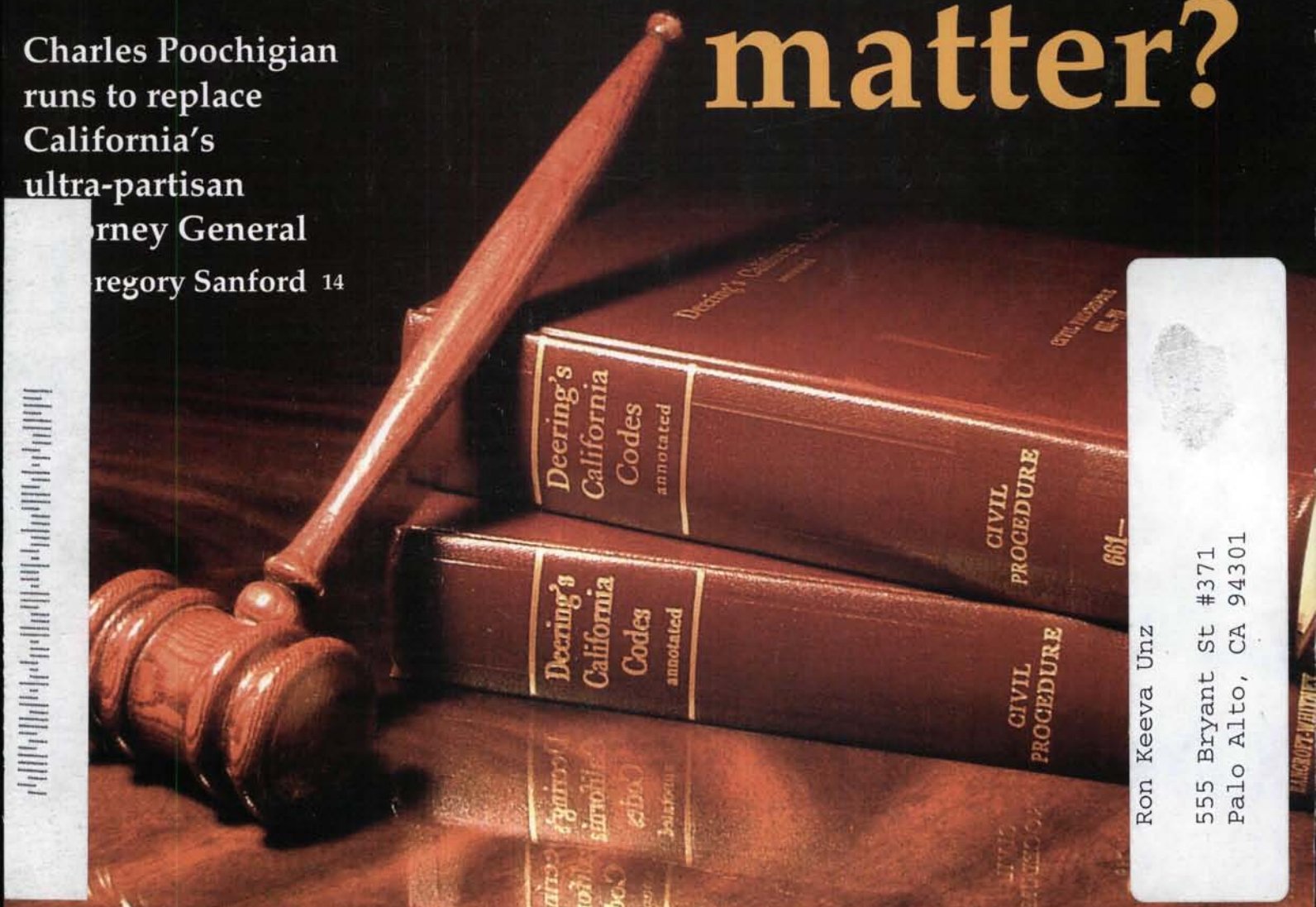

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CK-TICK-TOCK-T

California prisons are dangerously overcrowded. Designed to safely house 71,000 inmates, they now hold more than twice that number– 168,000. And next year's projections are even higher

Making matters worse, California prisons are seriously understaffed— with over 3,000 vacant positions and one of the worst officer-to-inmate ratios in the nation.

Understaffing creates two problems — forced overtime and dangerous working conditions. Mandatory overtime not only wastes millions of tax dollars, it exposes officers to serious risk by forcing them to work up to 16 hours or more, multiple days per week.

Staff shortages also result in less time for rehabilitation and more assaults on both officers and inmates.

And the fallout from this escalating violence could land right in our backyards. Because unless needed prison space is provided, federal courts may force the state to release thousands of hard-core felons — a public safety disaster of monstrous proportions.

Our prisons are a ticking time bomb. The legislature needs to act now — before it's too late.

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Cover photo by Gordon M. Kurzweil

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CORRESPONDENCE

Ahnolt and Tom

Lt. Gov. candidate Tom McClintock ("Tom McClintock's Bully Pulpit," *CPR*, Mar/Apr) reminds me of Bill Buckley's words at the founding of *National Review*: "*National Review* is out of place, in the sense that the United Nations and the League of Women Voters and the *New York Times* ... are in place." Tom was out of place two years ago in just the sense that Arnold Schwarzenegger was in place for a lot of Republicans. But since then, the GOP has seen that choosing short-term expediency over principle leads nowhere. Let's get it right this time.

Fran Johannson
San Anselmo

Panic in the Atlantic

Re: William E. Saracino's "The Global Warming Hoax" (*CPR Online* [www.cppf.us], April 12, 2006): the G.W. folks never mention the effect on ocean currents of greater amounts of melted water entering the oceans. One theory about the cause of the mini-Ice Age from 1400 to about 1850 was that melted ice caused the Atlantic Ocean currents to decrease, so less warm water from the equator went north to warm the Arctic. As a result, the temperature started to drop throughout the world, not go up. Sort of the balance of nature without the kumbyahs.

Carl Brodt
Berkeley

Too many bills

Good comment on how the Legislature works — particularly on time allotted to a bill ("Debate, Sacramento-style," by Ray Haynes, *CPR Online*, April 11, 2006). Thanks for informing the "people" of California on this. Obviously, state government has far too many bills and far too little time to discuss their merits.

Joseph Martin, MBA
Carmel

Selling the campaign hamburger

I have been a member of the Republican Party for 34 years and am currently an activist in the California Republican Assembly. I just finished reading "A Party with the Courage of No Convictions?" (John Kurzweil, *CPR*, Jan./Feb. 2006) and I wanted to thank you for stating clearing what I have been loudly saying (and, of course, being ignored) for the past 10 years. This party is a broken piece of machinery that needs to be overhauled — not just replacing one hack for another, but a complete scraping of the Party's charter with a new bottom up approach.

Your analyses of the consultant culture hits the heart of the problem today. I call it "The selling of the campaign hamburger." You tell your candidate: be vague, don't actually state a position, and we will sell you the way McDonald's sells. You will be palatable and won't offend anyone; yes, you will look and taste just like the Democrat, but that's OK with the ignorant masses.

Tom Lorincz
San Bernardino

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SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

The mood amongst Pachyderms in your thoroughly water-logged state capitol is on the upswing. The proximate causes are the governor's improving poll numbers and optimism about several "down ticket" races.

The Schwarzenegger political pulse has strengthened a bit, with the asterisk that a Steve Westly Democrat primary win means a much more difficult contest than a run against the ethically challenged, obviously oily Phil Angelides. But if the Democrat machine delivers for it's faithful water-carrier Angelides, the governor will probably emerge from the primary as either leading or tied. For a variety of reasons voters retain a good deal of basic affection for the big lummox in the corner office, and "affection" is never a term you'll hear applied toward Angelides.

And if the governor wins — even if he only runs a strong race in November — he will infuse hope into three other statewide GOP candidates in particular, and perhaps the entire ticket. Tom McClintock's campaign for lieutenant governor has been humming along on all cylinders for some time now and shows no signs of letting up. Tom may even have finally solved his heretofore chronic under-funding problem. And if McClintock has the bucks to run a full-bore campaign, it matters not whether he faces John Garamendi or Jackie Speier. He'll clean either of their clocks.

Secretary of State Bruce McPherson is a low profile incumbent, but an incumbent none the less, and barring a Democrat landslide at the top of the ticket it is difficult to see him losing to either senatorial Debras: Bowen or Ortiz. GOP Senator Chuck Poochigian has to be hoping that Jerry Brown wins the Democrat primary, as it's hard to imagine voters electing an anti-death penalty Attorney General, even in California. Can anyone say Rose Bird?

The Insurance Commissioner race features GOP rising star Steve Poizner against Democrat falling star Cruz Bustamante. Poizer is everything Bustamante is not: thoughtful, eloquent, poised, and erudite. The Bustamante folks will move heaven and earth to prevent face-to-face debates: it would be the nearest thing to a bullfight this side of *Aztlán*.

So even a close Schwarzenegger loss would give four GOP down-ticket candidates a decent shot of winning. 'Tis a long way both to Tipperary and November, so nobody is counting chickens just yet, but the mood is noticeably brightened.

New Assembly GOP leader George Plescia's hands are full leading his caucus while also delivering for the governor. Schwarzenegger's public opposition to Meathead Reiner's tax-raising Prop. 82 was partly prompted by signals from both Plescia and Senate GOP leader Dick Ackerman that it was a "must" if relations between the governor and GOP legislators weren't to deteriorate further.

The governor's minimum wage and bond proposals have Plescia on the hot seat. A solid conservative, he privately (sources say) thinks both proposals are bad politics and bad policy, and most of his caucus agrees. Former GOP Assemblyman, now-Cabinet Secretary Fred Aguire is said to be desperately seeking some face-saving compromise on both matters that the governor can endorse and still receive a least a few GOP legislative "aye" votes. It would be "threading the needle," and probably can't be done.

But it will be fun to watch, and stoke the fires and conversation at the saloons and salons your *Spectator* patrols tirelessly on the track of the latest news ... for you, faithful readers. However, if it doesn't stop raining here soon, I'll be on the Ark with the rest of the animals.

— *A.P.C.*

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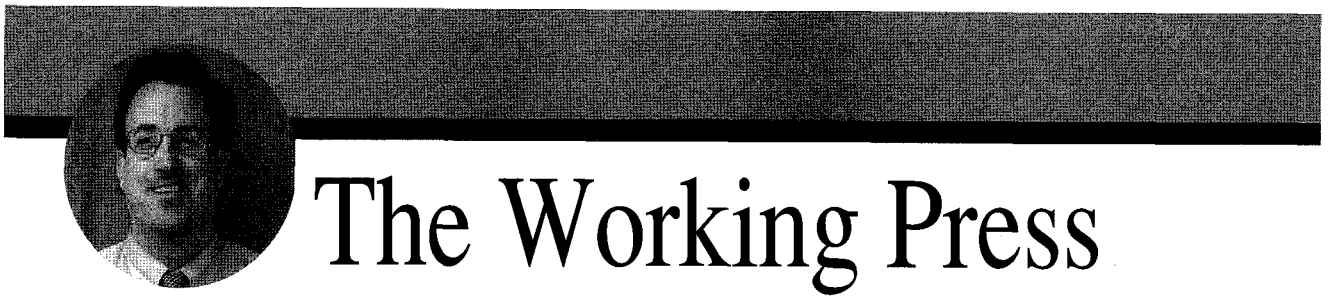

The Working Press

Chandler hailed, but no one cares to say just why.

Not that it's really a secret: he turned a conservative paper into a near-facsimile of the New York Times.

GEORGE NEUMAYR

Otis Chandler's death in February occasioned effusive obituaries across the nation, all of which celebrated his 25-year tenure as *Los Angeles Times* publisher as a great renaissance for the paper. Yet none of the obits I saw spelled out what exactly this meant. The obituary writers couldn't bring themselves to specify that his "transformation" of the paper was baldly ideological: he turned a conservative newspaper into a near-facsimile of the *New York Times.*

The gaudy tributes to Chandler were tacit tributes to his slavishly imitating East Coast liberal newspapering. A so-so student and jock, Chandler was more interested in surfing than journalism, but because he held all the right fashionable liberal views and set his reporters loose to push them on the front page of the paper, the East Coast journalism school types loved him. Chandler, they fawningly say, got rid of his forbearers' front-page conservative editorials and brought in "nonpartisan" reporters. The truth is he simply replaced front-page conservative editorials with front-page liberal editorials disguised as reporting.

Chandler had a deep inferiority complex about East Coast liberals, and his athletic competitive streak — he was a shot putter at Stanford — made him eager to out-liberal them at their own game. The *Times* own mammoth obituary of him more or less said so: "Chandler cared deeply about how the *Times* was regarded by East Coast opinion-makers, and more than 40 years after his father first took him to a national convention of newspaper publishers, he could still recall, with an edge in his voice, 'how clear it was that the *Times* was regarded as a bad newspaper from a hick town.'"

One of Chandler's first editorial page editors acknowledged in the obituary that "Otis said he wanted a more assertive, more liberal editorial page ... He wanted the paper to take what he called more 'balls out' positions, and he wanted us to change our position and editorialize against the war in Vietnam."

Ever the surfer, Chandler also saw a financial opportunity in riding the wave of '60s liberalism descending upon the Southland. After he retired, he looked back on his leftward course changes as a good business move: "The region was changing, the demographic was changing, the type of paper was changing ... There were so many changes going on, and I think if we hadn't kept up with the flow, the *Times* wouldn't have continued to do well financially. I'm glad we did what we did."

* * *

Some of the problems at the *Times* are more quotidian than philosophical bias. One problem, according to managing editor Doug Frantz, is that reporters are writing stories which are too bloated. *LAObserved.com* snagged a memo Frantz wrote to reporters. "The simple fact is that we need to get control of our story lengths, and it starts with you, the reporters. You need to think about what a story really deserves at the front end. That's the time for a frank conversation with your assignment editor," he wrote.

But Frantz assured them that "this is in no way a retreat from the kind of long-form journalism that is an *LA Times* hallmark. We'll continue to run long narrative stories ..."

Not to fear, liberals. Those week-long, ten-thousand-word articles on female boxers and the like

George Neumayr is California Political Review's *press critic.*

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An Opening for Common Sense

"The beginning of political wisdom is the recognition that liberalism is at the end of its intellectual tether."
— Irving Kristol

What used to be called "liberalism" has degenerated into reflexive attacks on everything from the family car to free speech to the Boy Scouts — a movement without a mind and with nowhere to lead. Common sense is the cure — find it in the pages of *California Political Review*. Subscribe today!

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will continue. Some wag once said that four of the scariest words for a reader to hear are: "first in a series." So why do newspapers run them? For the same reason they run ponderous editorials people don't read: to show they are "serious."

Otis Chandler, desperate to imitate the self-important *New York Times* with its habit of running long, boring investigative pieces on this or that bleeding-heart topic, encouraged the tedious investigative series. Chandler was clapped on the back by the illuminati for commissioning a "brave" investigative piece on the John Birch Society. What a crock. This was the journalistic equivalent of pushing on an open door. The John Birch Society was an exceedingly easy target that conservatives, especially Bill Buckley, had already knocked to the ground. But Chandler jumped on too, to signal that the *Times* was entering a new golden age of L.A. Lib.

The "blogosphere" has focused a greater degree of microscopic attention on public figures than ever before. Both conservative and lefty bloggers are catching pols out in errors — some big, some small — that a few years ago would have gone unnoticed. The Web's endless opportunities for dissection, pooling of intelligence, and rapid retrieval of information make it easy for partisans on both sides to excavate scandals, plagiarisms, lies, hypocrisies — and simple mistakes.

In a minor example of the phenomenon, congressional candidate Howard Kaloogian, campaigning for the San Diego seat of convicted Randy "Duke" Cunningham, ran into a blogosphere buzzsaw in March after placing a mislabeled photo on his web site. The picture was identified as showing a peaceful street scene from Baghdad, which Kaloogian had visited in July 2005. The line on the photo read: "We took this photo of downtown Baghdad while we were in Iraq. Iraq (including Baghdad) is much more calm and

WHAT YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD ABOUT GUN CONTROL

By SAM PAREDES

It's tha season again when candidates come asking for money. They talk about working with their colleagues across the aisle to pass their important bills, as they did on the city council or board of supervisors or school board. They talk about their expertise on certain issues, about all the support they have in their district, about how hard they'll work once elected.

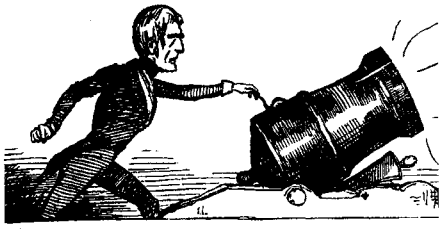
Sounds good? Well, yeah ... maybe ... ah, not really.

Most candidates just don't get it. They go into the fight leading with their chins instead of their dukes and their brains. Altruistic they may be; good candidates for Second Amendment supporters and conservatives in general they are not. They're just taking up space.

Why? The unpleasant truth is that a Republican, much less a conservative, could not get a Mother's Day resolution passed unless the leftist legislative leadership found it in their interest to allow it ... and then would be most likely to steal the idea, taking credit for it themselves.

So what do we need?

We need candidates who think beyond themselves — who understand that progress in the Legislature comes with team victory; candidates who thus want to take over and run the whole show both to crush the bills sponsored by their port-side colleagues and to move the state decisively in a conservative (pro-freedom) direction; candidates who know leftist legislators are not merely friendly, though misguided, bleeding hearts, but that they are the enemy.



Their objectives must include electing more folks like themselves — which means raising money, not for themselves, but for other candidates. They must be determined to learn to work a system hamstrung by term limits and to understand (this is a big one for a politician) that a majority may not be achieved until after they themselves are termed out. That means they must know that serving the state and the people is more important than serving their own term-limited personal objectives. If a candidate cannot see this, he is just filling space.

And all his Mother's Day resolutions, introduced only to die or to be co-opted by the opposition, won't accomplish a thing. CPR

Sam Paredes is executive director of Gun Owners of California. For more information go to www.gunownersca.com.

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stable than what many people believe it to be. But each day the news media finds any violence occurring in the country and screams and shouts about it — in part because many journalists are opposed to the U.S. effort to fight terrorism."

LIBERAL BLOGGERS at the web site *Daily Kos* pounced on the photo, noticing several elements in it — Turkish taxis, Turkish street signs, etc. — that indicated the street was in Istanbul, not Baghdad. Kaloogian, responding to the bloggers, took the photo down, explaining that it was an innocent mistake. His photos from a layover in Turkey during the same trip had been mixed in with photos from Iraq, he said.

All of this led to crowing at erstwhile conservative Arianna's *Huffington Post,* where cheap-shot liberalism finds an enthusiastic home. But the *Huffington Post* — and bloggers in general — are no strangers to screw-ups themselves, and the *H. P.'s* errors are considerably less innocent than Kaloogian's.

In a classic example of her dishonest method of operation, Arianna Huffington was caught in March faking up a blogged item supposedly written by actor George Clooney. When Clooney complained to the press that he didn't write it, Huffington had to admit the item was cobbled together by her staff on the basis of quotes Clooney had given in interviews on CNN and elsewhere. Clooney demanded an apology, saying, "Miss Huffington's blog is purposefully misleading and I have asked her to clarify the facts ... I stand by my statements but I did not write this blog." At first Huffington wouldn't apologize and dug a hole deeper for herself by suggesting, in effect, that many of the blogs that celebrities write on her site are coached. She was just furnishing Clooney with a "sample blog," she said.

This inspired some pundits to wonder how often the site cobbles together blogged entries for celebrities, letting them seem to be what they are not. In the end, Huffington, sensing she was losing the PR battle with Clooney, called her decision to invent a blogged entry for him a "big mistake."

Of course, lost in all the hubbub was Kaloogian's central point — entirely true — that the major media blow every incident in Iraq up to and beyond maximum proportions, behaving exactly like an enemy propaganda operation designed to undermine public support for the fight for Iraqi freedom. The implication is that the media is biased toward tyranny, to which the answer is, yes it is, from Chandler on Vietnam to the Soviet Union to Central America to the Middle East. Unsurprisingly, the lefties are always eager to get off this subject by any means necessary — such as portraying mistakenly labeled photos as the scandal of the century. CPR

Those in power over us

Where's our eminent domain reform?

Few political leaders show interest in restoring the peoples' rights to their own homes.

TIMOTHY M. SANDEFUR

LAST SUMMER, the United States Supreme Court declared in *Kelo v. New London* that local governments may seize citizens' homes and businesses and transfer the land to private companies to build stores and other projects, despite the Constitution's clear instruction that government may take property only "for public use." Equating the term "public use" with "public benefit," the Court held that economic development

Tim Sandefur, pinch-hitting this issue for M. David Stirling, is a Pacific Legal Foundation staff attorney. His "The 'Backlash' So Far: Will Americans Get Meaningful Eminent Domain Reform?" is available to be read at: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=868539

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benefits the public, and therefore that bureaucrats may use eminent domain to take land and give it to private businesses to "improve the economy."

AMERICANS WERE outraged by the decision, and none more so than Californians. Recognizing that state law can protect their rights even when federal law does not, legislators introduced several bills to limit eminent domain in various ways. But as the one-year anniversary of *Kelo* approaches, the sad fact is that nothing has yet been accomplished to protect property rights in the Golden State.

To understand the obstacles to eminent domain reform, it's important to understand how local officials use eminent domain for "redevelopment." Under the California Redevelopment Law, private property can be taken and transferred to private companies if the property is "blighted." Although the word "blight" suggests dangerous slums or disease-ridden property, the legal definition of blight is actually so vague that virtually any property can be declared blighted. For example, among the factors used to determine blight are "substandard design," "inadequate size given present ... market conditions," "lack of parking," "adjacent or nearby uses that are incompatible with each other and which prevent ... economic development," or "the existence of subdivided lots of irregular form and shape and inadequate size for proper usefulness." Such ambiguous standards give redevelopment officials nearly boundless authority to declare property blighted and seize it. Worse, once a blight declaration is enacted, courts will defer to the bureaucrats' judgment in all but the most extreme cases, depriving property owners of a fair hearing in court.

Once an area is declared blighted, that designation never comes to an end, meaning that Californians can lose their property under blight designations that are decades old. In one case, an upscale coffee house in San Diego's fashionable Gaslamp District was seized to make way for a hotel, even though the neighborhood had improved drastically in the years since it was declared blighted. The California Supreme Court rejected the owner's case because, under the current law, once a property is declared blighted, it's always blighted.

Worse, even non-blighted property can be seized if it is located in a blighted area. Even perfectly viable property that meets none of the vague definitions of blight can be taken if it is located near a blighted neighborhood.

Other parts of Redevelopment Law also fail the fairness test. The law imposes a special statute of limitations on property owners who wish to challenge a blight declaration, for example, and under "quick take" procedures now in place, officials can snatch property in a matter of days by depositing what they consider a "probable" amount of compensation into a court-operated bank account. But if the property owner touches those dollars, he waives his right to challenge the taking of his land.

These laws put California's home and business owners at tremendous risk from an out-of-control redevelopment industry. A 1998 report by the Public Policy Institute of California found that "redevelopment in California is very big business," totaling more than $2 billion annually. Another report, by the Institute for Justice, found that between 1998 and 2003, California transferred 223 condemned properties to private developers for their profit.

Yet California's political leaders have done nothing to address this rampant eminent domain abuse. Three bills died in committee last year, and this year's new legislative proposals are either meaningless, or have little chance of getting through the Legislature.

Senator Tom Torlakson (D-Antioch), for example,

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introduced a constitutional amendment last year that would have declared simply that "public use does not include the taking of owner-occupied residential property for private use." This amendment would have had absolutely no legal effect, though, because the *Kelo* case already prohibits the taking of property for "private use." What *Kelo* decided was that general economic improvement qualifies as public use. Without addressing that issue, the Torlakson amendment would simply have reiterated the current law. Moreover, it was limited only to owner-occupied residences, and provided no protection for small businesses, farms, apartments, or churches, which suffer far more often from eminent domain abuse than do homes.

A similar bill, proposed by Senator Christine Kehoe (D-San Diego), would place a two-year moratorium on redevelopment takings, while a committee wrote a report about eminent domain — a report lawmakers were free to ignore. And, like the Torlakson bill, Kehoe's moratorium would also have applied only to owner-occupied residences.

And even though these bills would have provided no realistic protection for Californians, they both were stalled in committee, along with another bill, by Senator Tom McClintock (R-Thousand Oaks), that would have significantly improved protection for private property. In fact, as *Sacramento Bee* columnist Dan Walters pointed out, the only eminent domain bill to make it to the governor's desk last year was a bill to allow Yolo County officials to seize the large Conaway Ranch property for the construction of an Indian casino.

Amazingly, although Californians continue to be outraged about eminent domain abuse, the new year has not brought a change of heart to their legislators. Senator Torlakson has reintroduced his meaningless amendment in the current session (as SCA 24), and Senator Kehoe has introduced a bill (SB 1206) that purports to tighten the definition of blight to protect property owners, but which actually does nothing of the sort. It merely declares that non-blighted property may not be included as part of a blighted area without "other substantial justification for their inclusion" — whatever that means.

Meanwhile, Senator McClintock has also reintroduced his proposed Constitutional amendment. SCA 20 would require government to retain control over any property that it seizes through eminent domain. Although government could still take property under this proposal, it would not be allowed to sell or lease the property to another private owner for commercial development. But the bill is unlikely to fare any better than it did last session.

Among the factors used to determine blight are 'substandard design,' 'inadequate size given present ... market conditions,' 'lack of parking,' 'adjacent or nearby uses incompatible with each other ....'

With no realistic prospect of help from the Legislature, Californians are taking the matter into their own hands with two ballot propositions. The first, numbered 135, appears unlikely to obtain enough signatures to make the ballot, but the second, number 146, would prohibit government from using eminent domain for private development and would require the government to pay a property owner's attorneys fees when it does take land. Polling data commissioned by local property rights activists suggests that such a measure would pass by some 70 percent if it makes the ballot, and it appears to have a realistic chance of doing so.

YET DESPITE popular outcry about *Kelo*, most of the state's prominent Republicans have remained silent about the issue of eminent domain. With the exceptions of McClintock, Assemblyman Doug La Malfa, Senator Sam Aanestad, and a handful of others, California's Republican leadership has done virtually nothing to meet the popular demand for reform.

Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger in particular has uttered not a single public word about *Kelo* or the importance of eminent domain reform. This is especially surprising since he came into office criticizing the state's redevelopment agencies for overreaching. It's hard to understand why the governor refuses to take a stand on such a popular issue; championing eminent domain reform could well revive his flagging popularity.

Californians are crying out for change, but so far

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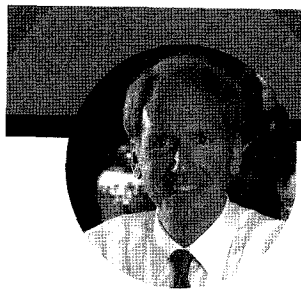
they've received nothing. Unless their political leaders take a principled stand in defense of their homes, businesses, and churches — and resist the urge to create loopholes that allow "blight" condemnations to continue — the people will have to defend themselves through the initiative process. CPR



Business Trends

Business climate has improved, but not enough

California's economy: still over-regulated, over-taxed, and over-litigated.

JAMES W. ROBINSON

RECENT IMPROVEMENTS in California's business and jobs climate have not gone unnoticed by the broader business community: and the results can be seen in the state's economic performance. Yet for every compliment one hears from business leaders, complaints are heard too about California's still over-regulated, over-taxed, over-litigated economy.

Some of those complaining may have forgotten how bad things once were — power outages and crippling hikes in electricity rates, a $22 billion fiscal crisis, business and job flight, and the tripling of the car tax.

Since then workers compensation reform has been enacted, resulting in insurance rate cuts up to 46 percent for many businesses. The car tax hike has been rescinded and other tax increases have been prevented. Voters rescinded an unworkable health care mandate on even the smallest of businesses and they approved an initiative to stop many junk lawsuits. The deficit has not been eliminated and remains a serious problem, but it is substantially smaller than it was three years ago.

These steps have contributed to an improved business climate and stronger economy. Companies and investors across the country and around the world have taken note. More than 500,000 new California jobs have been created over the last three years. Trade through California's ports has expanded rapidly. Unemployment is substantially lower and the state's credit rating is moving up.

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James W. Robinson is a senior vice president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and former communications director for Governor George Deukmejian and Attorney General Dan Lungren. The views expressed here are his own.

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A more robust state economy has generated record tax revenues for Sacramento — with no tax increase. A stronger financial position has also enabled state leaders to move beyond hand-to-mouth policymaking and start looking to the future: for instance, toward upgrading California's crumbling infrastructure.

Why do national and international sources of capital take so strong an interest in California's economic health and direction? Because the Golden State is the eighth largest economy in the world and home to one in eight American consumers. Our nation cannot sustain its prosperity or restore its competitiveness without a strong, job-producing California economy.

California is also a trendsetter. Good, bad, or otherwise, what happens in California often spreads eastward to the rest of America. On a broad range of issues — including litigation, health care mandates, environmental regulation, workplace rules, corporate governance, and outsourcing, to name a few — California and other states have been increasingly charting their own paths. Their decisions often have national and even international business implications.

While progress has been made, many valid complaints are still heard about California in business circles. Much remains to be done to restore California's powerful economic engine to peak performance.

THE ORGANIZATION for which I work, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, recently identified seven core competitive challenges California must meet and master to succeed in a highly competitive global economy. Here is how I would summarize them:

• Rebuild infrastructure and expand energy supply: The governor and Legislature must reach agreement on an infrastructure package that is bold in scope, fiscally sound, and embraces innovative funding approaches such as public/private partnerships.

• Improve education and find and train a superior work force: With public education receiving record funding, it is time the school establishment ended its obsession with money and started producing more college-ready graduates and competitive 21st century knowledge workers in our K-12 schools.

• Restore and maintain fiscal, tax, and regulatory discipline: Raising taxes and increasing government spending and borrowing will only add to California's existing competitive disadvantages. In a competitive global economy where money, jobs, innovation, and production can move in a flash, California cannot afford to add appreciably to these burdens.

• Expand trade and fight economic isolationism: California, America's top trading state, should set an example, rejecting anti-sourcing measures and other isolationist notions while supporting free and fair trade.

• Modernize pensions, health care, and entitlements: The pension and health care obligations of state and local governments literally have the potential to bankrupt California. The failure to advance reasonable public sector pension reforms in 2005 only postponed an inevitable day of reckoning.

• Reform an out-of-control legal system: The annual Harris Interactive survey, sponsored by the Chamber's Institute for Legal Reform, ranks the states according to the fairness of their legal systems. In the most recent survey (covering 2005), California came in 44th! The Golden State's litigation explosion must be curtailed.

• Restore faith in private sector solutions: California is quite simply over-governed. The predilection to legis-

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late, mandate, regulate, and control at all levels of government threatens to smother the spirit of innovation and risk-taking that is at the heart of any economy's success. The state must improve the efficiency of its systems of governance.

Recent improvements in California's business and jobs climate didn't happen by accident. They took a proactive attitude toward growth, some measurable affirmation of free enterprise principles, and concrete changes in economic policy. The competitive challenges ahead will be even tougher and — given the rise of fierce new competitor states and nations — there is no time left to lose. CPR

Immigration focus

The free market in jobs

Illegals do the work that unions and regulators price beyond its value in the oppressed, albeit legal, economy.

NORMAN HINES

The president is wrong to say that illegal immigrants do work that American citizens don't *want* to do; they do work that it would be uneconomical to pay legal workers to do at minimum — much less union — wages, plus payroll taxes, Social Security, Medicare, unemployment, and workman's comp insurance premiums, along with the costs of regulation compliance. And it isn't just evil sweatshop owners who keep this underground economy alive; it's also people like you and me, when we pay day laborers cash to work in our yards. But can you blame the employers? Much of this work paid for legally would cost more than it brings in value; the employer would lose money paying full costs.

In effect, the added costs of legally employing people act as an artificial price support for the commodity of unskilled labor. And as you may have learned in economics class, artificial price supports cause surpluses. And what do you call surplus unskilled labor? That's right, unemployment. Maybe that's why we can't get unemployment much lower than around 4 percent.

Unfortunately, any amnesty, guest worker (even though they are uninvited guests), or other plan to make illegal immigrants legal won't solve the problem. The instant an illegal immigrant becomes legal, his employer must pay him full minimum wage, plus payroll taxes and all the rest. Instead, the illegal employer of an illegal immigrant will fire the newly legitimized worker in favor of the next illegal immigrant standing in line right behind him. Every time we've done it before, the legalized immigrants have been almost immediately replaced by more illegal immigrants.

Politicians on both the Left and the Right like illegal immigrants illegally working below artificially supported full costs. On the Right, pro-business politicians like it because it's good for business. Libertarians like it because it's part of the underground economy and works against an artificial system. Free market politicians like it because it's a black market in unskilled labor, and no market is more free than the black market. And all these politicians under the Right's Big Tent think turning a blind eye to illegal immigration is much more "elect-able" than cutting minimum wage levels, payroll taxes, or regulations; breaking union labor monopolies and enacting right-to-work legislation; or reforming Social Security, unemployment insurance, or workman's comp. On the Left, since a disproportionate number of these illegal immigrants are of a certain ethnic group, tolerating illegal immigration panders to racist identity politics.

Norman Hines is is a software engineer in the Antelope Valley.

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(Which is more racist, *"Viva la Raza"* or *"Ein Volk, Ein Reich"?)* Also, when illegal immigrants illegally vote, for whom do they illegally vote?

Who else likes illegal immigration? The Mexican government does. If so many of its citizens weren't leaving the country in droves, they would be back in Mexico, demanding reform. The Mexican system is full of bribery and nepotism, extortion and assassination of would-be reformers, bureaucratic ineptitude, and socialist prevention of business success. If the illegal immigrants weren't pouring money to their families back home, in effect subsidizing Mexican corruption, their economy would be even worse than it is now. (By the way, why must illegal immigrants have American state driver's licenses? Why can't they use their Mexican driver's licenses? They're easy to get; all you need do is slip the right official $50 American and, poof, you have a Mexican driver's license.)

And, of course, the illegal immigrants themselves like illegal — and legal — immigration because it's much better to be poor, strangers in a strange land, and on the run from the law in the United States — the greatest country in the world — than to be poor, law-abiding citizens in Mexico.

I see the Mexican flags in the protests and I wonder; if Mexico is so wonderful and the United States is so terrible, why are so many Mexicans fleeing their homeland for *El Norte?* It's because Mexico is Hell on Earth for the poorest of its people, and the United States is Paradise by comparison. I hear rumors of *La Reconquesta* and I wonder, if parts of California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas are somehow returned to Mexico (Mexico's last territorial demand upon North America ... why does that sound so familiar?), won't the people who already escaped Mexico have to escape again? Perhaps we should warn Oregon, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, and Oklahoma.

For the long-term benefit of everyone concerned — except some of the politicians — the United States should reduce the incentive to hire illegal immigrants, not by punishing employers who hire them, but by making such practices less necessary, by cutting regulation and other burdensome mandates, reforming workman's comp, unemployment insurance, and Social Security, enacting right-to-work legislation and breaking the labor monopolies of the unions, cutting payroll taxes, and — dare I say it? — eliminating the minimum wage. Were we to do all these things, we'd have no need to build a wall like the one in Israel, or the one that used to cross Europe like an iron curtain (catchy phrase, that). And the people of Mexico, instead of fleeing a corrupt government, would stand and demand a just government, and make the memory of Benito Juárez proud instead of ashamed. CPR

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Does the rule of law matter?

Charles Poochigian runs to replace California's ultra-partisan Attorney General Bill Lockyer

by Gregory Sanford

THE NATIONAL uprising that greeted President George W. Bush's nomination of Harriet Miers to the Supreme Court marked a belated coming of age for the American conservative movement. Following decades of talk about the disaster of left-wing ideologues undermining the rule of law through judicial activism (but little substantial action — the disgraceful failure of the Reagan Administration to mount any sort of respectable defense for Robert Bork is only the most glaring example), conservatives stood up forcefully, announcing, in effect, to the White House, which plainly hadn't noticed the emergence of a new seriousness on the issue, that judgeships, Supreme Court ones at least, were no longer mere political plum appointments. They were, the right finally recognized, central strong points in the war for freedom in America, and the president would have to treat them as such or face a massive revolt within his own political base.

As usual, and contrary to the popular California-leads-the-nation myth, the Golden State lags behind the rest of the country in responding to the sea change. State Senator Chuck Poochigian's candidacy this year for state Attorney General provides a catch-up opportunity.

As on the national level, Democrats have contributed mightily to pushing matters along. Term-limited incumbent Bill Lockyer (a candidate for state Treasurer) scarcely missed a beat when, after the 1998 election, he moved from left-wing leader of the state Senate to left-wing activist in the A.G.'s office, although his opportunities for political mischief there have been more constricted. Lockyer, as the state's chief

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law officer — whose duties the California Constitution describes (in Article V, Sec. 13, according to the official A.G. web site) as seeing "that the laws of the state are *uniformly* and adequately enforced" *(emphasis added)* — has used his office to wage partisan culture war. One of his first actions was to lead the anti-First Amendment opposition to a pro-religious freedom decision (*Thomas v. Anchorage ERC*, Jan. 14, 1999) handed down by a U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals panel. The issue in *Thomas* was exactly what the First Amendment was ratified to prevent: government imposing the morality of the ruling classes on the people, with disregard for any competing rights or interests, in this case, both property rights and freedom of conscience.

ALASKAN STATE and local housing laws (like similar laws in California) threatened landlords who attempted to adhere, in using their own property, to their moral convictions about the family. "If," the law effectively states, "an unmarried couple wants to use your property for sexual practices you believe are immoral, are destructive of the family, are destructive of themselves — whatever — you will facilitate them or suffer possible deprivation of your livelihood and possibly more severe penalties, without regard to your religious convictions."

The judges, unsurprisingly, ruled that such a law infringed Christian and other religious landlords' free exercise rights under the First Amendment. But Lockyer was peeved. "... if this ruling stands," he fumed, "it tells landlords, and potentially other commercial enterprises, that religious discrimination is acceptable in this state." Say again? State discrimination against religious belief is exactly what the ruling overturned — but, you see, to a lefty like Lockyer, *government* discrimination involving other peoples' property and deployed against religious beliefs the state dislikes is good — is not actually discrimination at all; only when the people try to use their own property according to their own religious beliefs do we see the really bad kind of "discrimination" all decent folks oppose. Like most left-wing posturing, Lockyer's argument's main strength is precisely the idiocy at its core. How do you respond to hypocrisy so advanced it borders on lunacy, but which a supposedly responsible person puts forward as serious debate?

Lockyer's other antics involve routine casting of ballot measures' descriptive language to serve Democrat Party and liberal ideological ends. An instance of this abuse — one that eventuated in a satisfying victory for poetic justice as it turned out — was Lockyer's order changing the official title of the March 2000 Defense of Marriage Proposition 22 from the "Definition of Marriage" initiative, the title originally assigned by preceding A.G. Dan Lungren, to "Limit on Marriages." But the new wording backfired. Rather than arouse opposition, it stirred up support for the measure, as pre-election focus groups indicated and voters later confirmed. It evidently tipped otherwise unaware people off that an assault on marriage and the family was afoot — why else would anyone feel a need to "limit" what everyone knows is the actual meaning of the word "marriage"? Proposition 22, the entire text of which reads: "Only marriage between a man and a woman is valid or recognized in California," was passed by a 23-point majority of California voters, 61.4 to 38.6 percent, passing in 52 of the state's 58 counties, and losing only in six San Francisco Bay area counties. That Lockyer could embody in office and abuse the public trust in service to so puny — in both its ideas and its level of popular support — an ideology and still handily win re-election to office indicates mainly that the people haven't been paying attention. Like national conservatives, most ordinary Californians prefer to assume that attorneys general, like judges, place the law above politics. If only it were so.

That comfortable notion is likely to suffer a sharp jolt this year, especially if the Democrats, as seems likely, nominate former Governor Jerry Brown as their candidate to replace the term-limited Lockyer. Could the issue hope for a better showcase? This promises to be a hard-fought statewide campaign for the office charged with enforcing the laws "uniformly and adequately"

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— and one of the two likely candidates is the man whose idea of a Supreme Court chief justice was Rose Bird. Lest anyone suppose that appointment represented some sort of aberration, Brown's chief of staff was Gray "Sell Anything for a Donation" Davis — talk about humble respect for the law. Brown, as governor, also appointed one-time Northern California ACLU General Counsel Paul Halvonik to the state Court of Appeals — a post Halvonik later resigned as part of a plea bargain after Oakland Police found hundreds of marijuana plants growing in the Halvonik home. Halvonik and his wife, attorney Deborah Hinkel, had reported a burglary and it evidently never occurred to them that police investigators would take a dim view of the pot farm cultivated in their quarters. Up until his disconcerting resignation from the bench, Halvonik was widely rumored to be a likely Brown choice for the state Supreme Court.

Gov. Brown's state capitol portrait

So the scofflaws seem assured of an able, qualified champion for their views in this year's attorney general race. What of Californians who think law should be followed, at least by the state's "chief law officer"? The Republican in the race (no others filed) is the above-mentioned state Senator Charles Poochigian, who represents California's Fresno-area 14th state senate district. First, a little background (from his official biography):

"Born in Fresno in 1949, Chuck is a third generation resident of the San Joaquin Valley. His family has farmed in the Valley since 1912. Chuck and his wife, Debbie, were married in 1977 and have three grown children. He received his degree in Business Administration from California State University, Fresno, in 1972 and his law degree from the University of Santa Clara in 1975. He served for six years as a member of the California Air National Guard.

"He practiced general civil and business law from 1975 until November 1988. At that time, he was chosen by then-Governor George Deukmejian to serve as a member of the governor's senior staff as chief deputy appointments secretary, assisting the governor in the selection of key administration officials as well as members of over 375 state boards and commissions. In 1991, Governor Pete Wilson named him as his Appointments Secretary where he served until his election to the Assembly in 1994.

"He is a strong advocate of business and agriculture in California, a champion of fair and limited taxation and minimal government regulation ...."

That is, Mr. Poochigian is a man of the people, one who cares about protecting their rights against their disparagement by state power. In stark contrast to the incumbent A.G., for instance, Senator Poochigian has demonstrated not only that he understands the importance of property rights for a stable economy and healthy political culture, but, more importantly, that it is simply wrong, to borrow Lincoln's phrase, to live off the sweat of another man's brow — even for the government it is wrong. He knows it is a matter of simple justice and genuine morality to respect and defend people's right to their own labor as embodied in the property they obtain through their own hard work and uncoerced trading with their fellow men. In office, the senator carried legislation that would have strengthened the rights of property owners to seek and receive compensation for temporary or partial takings by government of their interest in real property. The Democrats — the party of slavery today as at its founding — killed that effort, but even introducing the legislation showed Poochigian's passion to stand, against the odds, on the moral high ground with private property and

Anyone having trouble generating enthusiasm about this contest might consider the implications of returning Jerry Brown to a pivotal position over selection of all top state judges.

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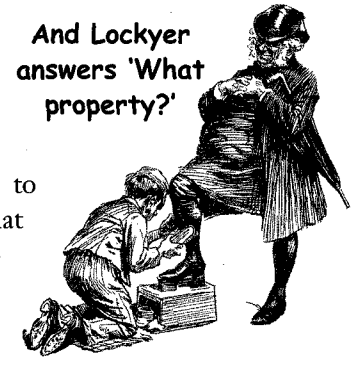
the people. The senator talks with the same conviction about the injustice of the U.S. Supreme Court's 2005 *Kelo* decision*, and he discerns in it a silver lining: that decision, he said, "set off a movement all over the country .... folks that were unaware of the kind of excess and abuse represented by that case became informed and they have served to invigorate a very important debate in our country," on the central importance of "upholding property rights."

THE IMPLICATIONS for the people of electing a chief law officer who respects traditional American constitutional rights, with the underlying principle they embody — that the people, not the state, are sovereign — could be staggering in a state where the extortionist Coastal Commission, for one example, regularly tramples largely defenseless citizens whose only sin is to want to use their own hard-earned land in any way at all. "My obligation as Attorney General," Poochigian said, "is to discern what the law is and to apply it dispassionately."

A novel idea — how's this for law: "All people are by nature free and independent and have inalienable rights. Among these are enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing, and *protecting property* ...." *(emphasis added)* (California Constitution, Article 1 Declaration of Rights, Sec. 1); or "Free exercise and enjoyment of religion without discrimination or preference are guaranteed. This liberty of conscience does not excuse acts that are licentious or inconsistent with the peace or safety of the State" (California Constitution, Article 1, Sec. 4); or "Slavery is prohibited. Involuntary servitude is prohibited except to punish crime" (California Constitution, Article 1, Sec. 6); or "A person may not be deprived of life, liberty, *or property* without due process of law or denied equal protection of the laws" *(emphasis added)* (California Constitution, Article 1, Sec. 7); or "The provisions of this Constitution are mandatory and prohibitory, unless by express words they are declared to be otherwise" (California Constitution, Article 1, Sec. 26).

That ought to be clear enough even for Bill Lockyer, but of course clarity and meaning are not what left-wingers care about. They believe in power, and words, for them, like everything else, are merely tools to take and wield power over men — so "Free exercise and enjoyment of religion without discrimination" becomes a license to punish landlords who exercise their religion freely; "public use" becomes theft by government; "due process of law" becomes whatever the powerful in government want to do; and "express words" mean the opposite of what everyone knows them to mean — if government says so. Or they can mean nothing at all, if that is what the powerful desire: the word "property," for instance, repeatedly protected in the supreme law of the state, has its meaning simply eviscerated, as if it had never existed. "I might do something about that hump," Young Frankenstein says to Igor; and Igor answers "What hump?"; and Lockyer answers "What property?"



Senator Poochigian continues: "Having said that" — about the Attorney General's obligation to discern and apply the law dispassionately — "Having said that, where the circumstances and the law provide for some latitude in terms of choices that the Attorney General can make, obviously these values that I am describing [respect for private property

* For a full discussion of the issues involved in *Kelo* and of the current state of the controversy in California, see page 7, this issue of *CPR*, "Where's our eminent domain reform?" by Timothy M. Sandefur. In brief, *Kelo* redefined the phrase "public use" as it applies to the government's "eminent domain" power to take private citizens' property. In America, that power is limited to allow *only* takings that serve a "public use." But *Kelo's* new definition, really no definition at all, ignores the plain meaning of the law, saying that "public use" includes more or less anything civil authorities might have in mind, including selling the property to some other private owner if that will better serve the greedy interests of those in power. Thus, the Court issued a license for government to steal.

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and individual rights] can come into play." The senator knows the one-sidedness of the game. It is impossible for liberals who become officers of the law to "interpret" or "apply" it in any way too bizarre and distorted to be questioned. (Jerry Brown's Rose Bird once famously announced that "If I couldn't follow the law, I wouldn't sit here" — words that turned out to be true, but only because the people, not Bird, acted on them.) But let a non-liberal of any stripe in any capacity question even the most flagrantly preposterous precedent of a liberal activist court, or seek to undue the damage done to the rule of law by a politicized previous attorney general, or work to defend citizens against the excesses of out-of-control state agencies — *well* — Oh! The activism!, the hypocrisy! — preaching respect for law, and all the while plotting to dishonor our sacred jurisprudence, dragging it down the sordid alleyways of right-wing fanaticism!!

Swearing in Bird

EVERY GOVERNMENTAL office holder exercises some degree of power within a range of discretion as to emphasis if nothing else: which problems will we attack first and which will wait until later?; which will receive maximum resources — whatever they need, to the limit of our capacity — and which will be addressed in the second or third tier? Where a liberal A.G. would be expected to ignore or pay no more than lip service to addressing depredations against property rights or rapacious abuse of power by taxing agencies or egregious over-stepping of authority by regulators, a normal human being in that job would be expected to make re-establishing balance in these critical areas a primary concern. If an Attorney General Charles Poochigian endeavors to do that, of course, he will be assailed from state border to state border (and beyond, if he begins to make real headway) for "politicizing the office." But he will only be doing his job: seeing "that the laws of the state are *uniformly* and adequately enforced." And it will be about time.

In addition, by the way, to his direct responsibilities, the Attorney General serves as one of the state Commission on Judicial Appointments' three members, along with the state Supreme Court chief justice and the senior presiding justice of the state Court of Appeal. This panel approves, or rejects, gubernatorial appointments to the appellate bench — it is the California state judiciary version of the U.S. Senate, and its decisions are every bit as decisive. Conservatives unhappy with the current governor's judicial appointments should remember that all of them above the trial court level must be passed by at least two of three members of this group which now includes Bill Lockyer and Chief Justice Ron George, a "Republican" whose decisions on, again, property rights and such fundamental issues as religious freedom have never been such as to perturb Bill Lockyer. Winning back one-third of this commission to respect for the law is, alone, reason enough for treating the attorney general election as second in importance among all statewide elections. Anyone having trouble generating enthusiasm about this contest might consider the implications of returning *Jerry Brown* to a pivotal position over selection of all top state judges.

Chuck Poochigian is a proven leader, not afraid to face heavy opposition in a fight over an important issue. He showed that by shepherding through California's workmen's comp reforms, vehemently opposed by Democrats and heavy-handed pressure groups. He's also taken on the educrat establishment in working effectively to increase accountability and equal funding formulas in K-12, higher, and special education. With lieutenant governor candidate Tom McClintock and state controller candidate Tony Strickland, he helps form one of the strongest teams for statewide office conservatives have fielded in decades. If they win, these individuals will be the future leadership of the California GOP, and could play decisive roles in shaping our state for decades to come. Perhaps that's why so many conservatives are laying aside their problems with this governor to work for an overall Republican victory in the fall. CPR

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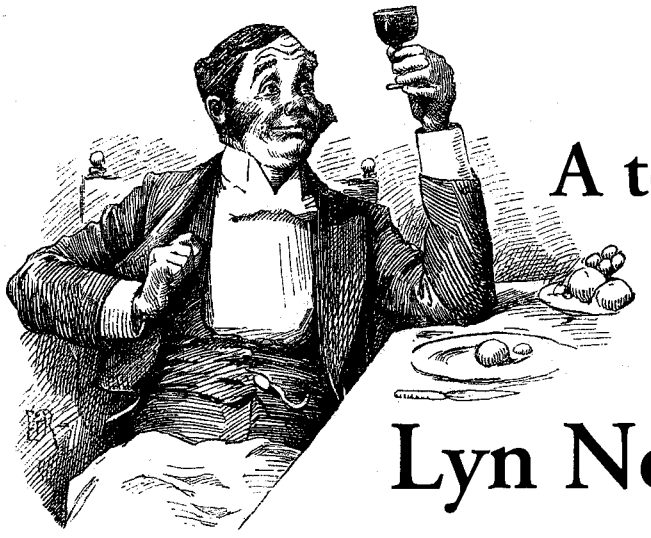

A toast to Lyn Nofziger

John Kurzweil

It seems paradoxical that one of the most difficult things to be — a selfless man — nonetheless appears so natural and effortless in one who achieves it. By "selfless," I mean given to a cause larger than self and serving it without counting the cost. Strangely enough, the most personable, engaging, thoroughly human, and unforgettably *individual* people we meet are precisely those who have submerged their personal comforts, feelings, and appetites in a life devoted to larger concerns. Having pushed themselves to the back, they do not disappear as individuals; rather, their personalities come through more distinctly, more powerfully, more *naturally* than ever.

Lyn Nofziger was charming because he was natural. And he was natural — and one of a kind — because, like Ronald Reagan, he never pushed himself to the front. He was too busy for that, busy occupying his mind and spirit thinking about something much more intriguing: the wide, fascinating world of people and things. I find interesting the frequency with which the word "rumpled" turns up in articles about Nofziger. *Answers.com* defines it as "wrinkled, crumpled," and notes that the word also appears often in references to the old TV detective show "Columbo," starring Peter Falk. Falk's Columbo was so unpretentious — he usually appeared looking as though he'd slept in his clothes — that he was invariably dismissed as a hopeless rube by the sophisticates he encountered. But while the sophisticates obsessed about superficialities, Columbo alone discerned the essentials that explained the case.

Just so with Nofziger, who immediately spotted Reagan's potential while the experts were busy dismissing "the actor" as little more than a minor political joke. Sam Paredes repeated one of my favorite Nofziger stories in *CPR's* last issue (March/April, "Tom McClintock's Bully Pulpit"): early in Reagan's first gubernatorial race, Nofziger told political sophisticate Bill Roberts that Reagan is "going to be elected governor and someday he might even be president." Roberts, Nofziger wrote, "looked on Reagan as a not very smart right-wing actor." He answered by saying, "Oh Lyn, what will the poor soul do if he's ever elected governor?" Roberts, perhaps insufficiently rumpled, would have to wait to see what Lyn Nofziger knew all along.

I first met Lyn Nofziger in 1976 in Santa Monica. I interviewed him at the Citizens for the Republic office. CFTR was the political organization Reagan headed after his nearly, but not quite, successful try for the GOP presidential nomination that year against Gerald Ford, and Lyn ran its day-to-day operations. In typical Nofziger mode, Lyn described the group's founding in his memoir, *Nofziger:*

> We called the PAC "Citizens for the Republic," a name I suggested because it had the same initials as Reagan's campaign organization, Citizens for Reagan. We called it CFR for short, but not for long. CFR, it seems, also stood for Council on Foreign Relations, a nonpartisan organization peopled largely by the important and self-important denizens of the Eastern liberal establishment. Ain't no blue-collar workers ever been invited into membership ....
>
> After receiving dozens of letters of objection, I decided we would become a four-letter acronym — CFTR, Citizens for *THE* Republic. It worked like a charm. We were immediately reaccepted as genuine, bona fide right-wing kooks by all of Reagan's right

John Kurzweil is CPR's *editor.*

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wing kook supporters .... Reagan would be the PAC's chairman and I would run it on a day-to-day basis as executive vice chairman.

I had worked on the 1976 Reagan "Youth" Campaign — a Morton Blackwell operation — traveling to several primary states and the national convention, but, as one of the lowest of campaign functionaries, I had never actually been introduced to Mr. Nofziger. After the campaign, I wanted to move from political operations to political journalism and a good friend, local Santa Monica Republican leader Leslie Dutton, who knew the Reagans and had been a Reagan delegate in Kansas City, arranged for me to interview Nofziger for the local Santa Monica weekly newspaper. My journalistic experience at the time was more or less nil and, to make matters worse, I was simply in awe of the great man. I suppose — I don't remember a thing that I asked him — I meandered through some series of inane questions, Lyn patiently shepherding me along. I somehow emerged with a photograph and a story — a small moment that I am certain "the great man" forgot about as he turned to bigger things as soon as I was gone, but I felt like the kid Babe Ruth spoke to as he handed him the autographed home-run ball.

The *last* time I spoke with Lyn was just last fall. Beginning in 2002, he had been kind enough to permit this publication to reprint, here and there in our pages, some of the verses on politics he wrote under the name Joy Skilmer. Later, when Lyn began posting what he called "Musings" on his web site, *CPR* added occasional short takes from them as well. Last August, he posted a note about Paul Weyrich, founder of the Heritage Foundation and as important a conservative activist leader as any the nation has known. "A while back," Lyn wrote, "Paul had a nasty accident that left him crippled and in constant pain. Doctors decided that the only way to alleviate the pain was to amputate his legs. That was to be done this week.

"If you can spare one, lift a prayer to the Lord on Paul's behalf. He is a brave man, a principled man and a man who has fought most of his life to make this a better country." I am also honored to have had a passing acquaintance with Mr. Weyrich over the years, and, reading this, I called Lyn for an update on Paul's condition. We talked about that for a few minutes, and then rang off. I doltishly never thought to ask Lyn how *he* was doing physically, and he never mentioned his own illness, which, I now know, was already far advanced.

It is no exaggeration to say that modern American conservatism has been one of most profoundly successful, far reaching, and beneficial political and social movements in the history of the world. Lest we take it too much for granted, go back now and then, re-read William F. Buckley's *Up From Liberalism*, Whittaker Chambers' *Witness*, Henry Hazlitt's *Economics in One Lesson*. Recall the dismal period of seemingly absolute liberal dominance over America's political discourse following World War II, then recall the imbecilic '60s when the liberal program was actually tried, eventuating in crashing failures from Vietnam to the War on Poverty to the Warren Court. This was quickly followed on the Republican side by the self-delusion of *détente* and the Nixon-Kissinger-Ford era of acquiesence in "the inevitable decline of the West." At the same time, the Democrats saw the final collapse of the delusional, if optimistic, Hubert Humphryesque liberal spirit in their Party, replaced, first, by hate-America-and-everything-about-it leftism, and then, by a lost and searching Jimmy Carter "malaise."

Beginning in the late 1940s and early '50s, a relatively small cadre of remarkable American leaders launched the counter-revolution that eventually led the nation away from all its self-absorbed despair; led us to victory over the Soviet Empire; staved off the left's most determined efforts to reduce us to European levels of socialist hopelessness and buffoonery; restored our productive capacities and spirit; renewed the Western tradition of honest debate about man's relationship with man in society and in politics; and ignited a world-wide firestorm of republican respect for individuals and private institutions — for ordinary people — that continues to spread, now even in the Islamic Middle East.

We have come very far, and Lyn Nofziger was one of the key actors in this great historic drama. Retired *National Review* Publisher Bill Rusher recently recalled the last time he saw Nofziger. He said Lyn — as he so often seemed to be trying to do — was moving out, fleeing the halls of power in the nation's capital after finishing a tough job helping win office for somebody else. "I don't like government," was Nofziger's simple explanation for refusing to stay where so many others pine to be. If it were possible to make Lyn Nofziger blush, it would probably be over the thought that occurs to me that his attitude recalls that of our first president, who also always prefered to head home, away from the stultifying atmosphere of power and ego that always seems to permeate everything government.

If I may borrow his own words, slightly altered — if you can spare one, lift a prayer to the Lord on Lyn Nofziger's behalf. He is a brave man, a principled man, and a man who fought most of his life to make this a better country. CPR

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GOP Primaries

California Legislature

BY WILLIAM E. SARACINO and BRANDON POWERS
MEMBER, *CPR* EDITORIAL BOARD CHAIRMAN, CALIFORNIA YAF

SPECIAL REPORT: *CPR* June 6 Primary election handicapper William E. Saracino (ably assisted by Cal YAF's Brandon Powers) sketches fifteen Republican Primary Assembly and state Senate battles to watch.

THANKS TO old friend Gerrymander, no suspense accompanies the question: which party will control the Legislature next fall. The lines drawn in 2001 (with, remember, the full concurrence and active encouragement of the White House and Congressional Republicans), created a majority of seats so safely Democrat that even if every incumbent Legislative Democrat died before November, Republicans would still be unlikely to win a majority of seats in either house. So virtually all the interesting action in legislative races will be in this June's primary. These primaries also, of course, will influence the Legislature's political/philosophical make-up, especially in the Republican caucuses. Here are brief looks at the districts where the action is in GOP primaries. We'll take a look at open Democrat districts and their winners in *CPR's* next issue.

DISTRICT 4 *Reg: R 47.30%; D 31.50%; DS 16.69%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Tim Leslie (R) termed out. Counties: Alpine, El Dorado, Placer, Sacramento.

Term limits have finally caught up with Tim Leslie after a 20-year career in the Legislature. Although a contest technically is scheduled between Placer County Supervisor Ted Gaines and educator Paul Hunt, the solidly conservative Gaines will win this Primary without breaking a sweat. Gaines nailed down the conservative establishment early, securing not only Leslie's endorsement, but also those of former GOP gubernatorial nominee Bill Simon, National Tax-Limitation Committee President Lew Uhler, former state Sen. Rico Oller, Rep. John Doolittle, and local California Republican Assembly (CRA) leader Aaron Park. As of the latest filing deadline, Gaines had $287,000 on hand, while Hunt did not file a report, meaning he had less than $50,000. This seat will transfer from one strong conservative to another.

DISTRICT 25 *Reg: R 45.24%; D 36.57%; DS 13.48%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Dave Cogdill (R) termed out. Counties: Calaveras, Madera, Mariposa, Mono, Stanislaus, Tuolumne.

This Modesto-based district also sees a termed out conservative Republican assemblyman, leaving a two-man race to succeed him. And like Tim Leslie's 4th A.D., the contest for the 25th has turned out to be one-sided. Almost assured a win is local farmer Tom Berryhill, possessor of a revered GOP name locally and $149,000 in his campaign account. His opponent, former Modesto Councilman

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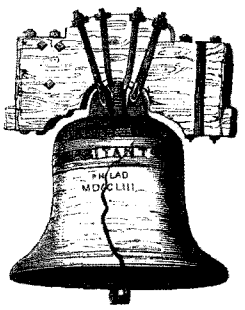
Bill Conrad, showed only $1,184. Even if he were able to match the conservative Berryhill's cash, however, Conrad would still have an uphill race. Tom Berryhill's father, Claire, served in the Assembly and state Senate from the late 1960s through the mid-'70s. It was Claire Berryhill's victory in a 1969 special election that gave Governor Ronald Reagan a Republican majority in the state Assembly. The Berryhill name remains a strong draw in this district.

DISTRICT 32 *Reg: R 54%; D 30%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Kevin McCarthy (R) running for Congress. Counties: Kern, San Bernardino.

The decision of Assembly GOP leader Kevin McCarthy to run for the Congressional seat Bill Thomas has finally given up (to which we add a hearty "hooray and it's about time"), has drawn a field of three strong candidates to this Bakersfield-centered district. Former Assemblyman and state Senator Phil Wyman of Tehachapi is joined on the ballot by wealthy Bakersfield businessman Stan Ellis and Bakersfield City School Superintendent Jean Fuller. Fuller is the candidate of the locally-powerful, conservative-loathing Thomas machine. Wyman and Ellis are solid conservatives. Wyman's biggest advantage and disadvantage are flip sides of the same coin — his 100 percent local name I.D. Everyone in this area knows Wyman, and almost nobody is neutral. Folks either love him or hate him. He has a base of intensely committed loyalists, which might be large enough to win a low-turnout primary.



Wyman's biggest advantage and disadvantage are flip sides of the same coin: his 100 percent local name I.D.

Ellis, on the other hand, has years of successful business behind him, and a large network of friends, customers, and (especially in Bakersfield) conservative political activists who like him a lot. He also has deep financial pockets, and a savvy enough political operation behind him that he was able to snatch the CRA endorsement away from Wyman. Frankly either Wyman or Ellis would be a fine assemblyman, adding to conservative strength in the Legislature's lower house.

The problem is that Ellis and Wyman *could divide — evenly —* the district's slender conservative majority and allow Thomas-clone Fuller to squeak out a win. This would be a setback for the conservative movement. Conservatives may be hoping that — whether by a coin toss or arm-wrestling or penny-lagging or, perhaps even better, a believable, third-party survey — Wyman and Fuller will come to a meeting of the minds before the election and one of them will drop out and endorse the other for the good of both the movement and the state.

DISTRICT 37 *Reg: R 45%; D 34%; DS 17%*

Incumbent: Audra Strickland (R) Counties: Kern, Los Angeles, Ventura.

Assemblywoman Audra Strickland, a solid conservative, is feeling the wrath of the GOP "moderate" "big tent" types, who, as usual, find neither room nor toleration in their tent for those who make the mistake of disagreeing with them. They are upset that husband Tony is opposing the jello-spined state Senator Abel Maldonado for controller, and are still smarting that Audra won the seat in the first place.

The GOP invertebrates needed a candidate to run a kamikaze mission against Audra to keep her tied down and less free to help Tony. Enter leading GOP RINO Bob Larkin, former chairman of the Ventura County GOP Central Committee, former primary opponent of Tom McClintock, and a virtual poster boy for GOP "moderate" intolerance. Larkin, who is becoming something of a joke in Ventura County political circles, has no chance of beating Audra, but that isn't the point. He's the RINOs' designated irritant, buzzing around, wasting Republican money spent both for and against him in the hope of distracting Tony as he campaigns against the Democrats' favorite Republican state senator.

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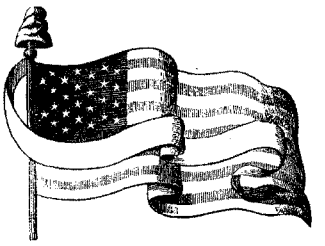
DISTRICT 38 *Reg: R 44%; D 35%; DS 17%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Keith Richman (R) running for Treasurer. Counties: Los Angeles, Ventura.

And speaking of Republican legislators who consistently play footsie with their Democrat colleagues, Keith Richman is leaving this Ventura county/Santa Clarita seat in order to run for Treasurer. His replacement will be Santa Clarita Mayor Cameron Smyth, a solid conservative who will move the district's representation dramatically to the right.



Smyth doesn't strike us as the type to be satisfied being a back-bencher in Sacramento. Look for him to emerge as one of the new conservative leaders next year.

Smyth came out of Senator Pete Knight's political operation and has become a savvy politician in his own right. Well spoken and well versed on conservative issues, Smyth has the endorsement of Tom McClintock, the CRA, and California Young Americans for Freedom. He also has more than $175,000 in the bank, making him a sure thing against his token opponent, local businesswoman Mary Barrientos. Smyth doesn't strike us as the type to be satisfied being a back-bencher in Sacramento. Look for him to emerge as one of the new conservative leaders next year.

DISTRICT 59 *Reg: R 47%; D 33%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Dennis Mountjoy (R) termed out. Counties: Los Angeles, San Bernardino.

Conservative Dennis Mountjoy is termed out of this San Gabriel Valley district. Son of conservative icon (and current GOP candidate against U.S. Senator Diane Feinstein) Dick Mountjoy, Dennis will try to stay politically visible and viable for two years, then run for the Senate seat then to be vacated by Bob Margett.

In the meantime, a real donnybrook exists in the contest to succeed Mountjoy. The three main candidates are conservative Anthony Adams of San Bernardino, conservative Barry Hartz of Apple Valley, and liberal Chris Lancaster of La Verne. This race should concern conservatives, as it presents the all-too-familiar danger (already noted above in A.D. 32) of multiple conservative candidates possibly splitting the vote, thereby letting a liberal eek out a win in a solidly conservative district.

Unlike the 32nd, however, in the 59th a clear conservative front runner has emerged in Anthony Adams. A long-time political activist in San Bernardino County, Adams is well-connected to the political and business establishment in the county. He has been working hard at campaigning for nearly a year, and as a result has raised nearly $350,000. He also has garnered the endorsements of tax-limits activist Lew Uhler, Jonathan Coupal of the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association, former CRP Chairman and CRA President Mike Schroeder, the Club for Growth, and many others.

Hartz, though a longtime, dedicated conservative activist, started the campaign late. According to reports filed with San Bernardino County, he has raised $49,000 and and has $14,000 cash on hand. His main endorsements are Dick and Dennis Mountjoy, and the CRA. He has no more than the slightest objective chance to outpoll Adams, but he could conceivably pull just enough conservative votes *away* from Adams to let the third candidate — Chris Lancaster — steal a win.

Lancaster is a proud liberal. He was recalled from the Covina City Council for ram-rodding an unpopular local tax. He also opposed Proposition 75 in last year's special election. After his public employee union pals subsequently moved heaven and earth to re-elect him to the Covina Council, Lancaster quit and moved to La Verne so he could run in this Assembly district. He seems a little unclear in his mind about which party's primary he is trying to win: his endorsement list is topped by the Teamsters and the AFL-CIO. Adams is trouncing him handily in both endorsements and fund raising, and, given Lancaster's blatant carpet bagging, he would have no chance in a two-man race. His one hope of winning is that Hartz might try to tear Adams down within the conservative base. That would be a shame. This district deserves a solid conservative in the

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Assembly, and Adams is the only one with a chance to win. If he *is* elected to the Assembly, look for Adams to join Cameron Smyth (see District 38, above) as one of next year's conservative leaders.

DISTRICT 65 *Reg: R 47%; D 34%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Russ Bogh (R) termed out. Counties: Riverside, San Bernardino.

The departure of Russ Bogh due to term limits has created one of the most interesting GOP assembly primaries in the state in this Riverside-dominated district. The four major candidates are San Jacinto Councilman Jim Ayres, Banning Councilwoman Brenda Salas, Twentynine Palms Councilman Paul Cook, and Hemet Mayor Robin Lowe. The cash on hand amounts are: Ayres — $346,000, Salas — $180,000, Cook — $77,000, and Lowe — $96,000. Those figures are a bit deceiving, as Ayres has already spent about $170,000, and has many "dual contributions" (amounts given by the same donors for the general election as well as the primary, though the funds earmarked for the general cannot be spent until after June).

RINO-ette Dianne Harman is running on her husband's name, period. However, that carries a special significance in this race because *his* state Senate district overlaps the 67th.

Conventional wisdom is that Ayers and Salas are the two leaders at the moment. Air Force veteran Ayers has been on the council for about 10 years, and is a solid conservative on some issues, guns being a prime example. On others, particularly spending, he has been far from conservative. He is one of the council's leading "junketeers," taking many trips on the taxpayer's dime, including a stay at the posh New York, New York hotel/casino on the Las Vegas strip.

This has created opportunity for conservative former Democrat Salas. She is employed by Republican Riverside County Supervisor Marion Ashley, and has the endorsements of Dick Mountjoy, Tom McClintock, and Mike Schroeder, among others. The presence of an articulate, conservative Hispanic female in a Republican primary has intrigued many conservative leaders, who understand what such a voice could mean in the Legislature and statewide. It is likely that either she or Ayres will be the nominee, but if those two concentrate too much of their fire on each other, Cook and Lowe have the financial wherewithal to sneak out a win.

DISTRICT 66 *Reg: R 50%; D 28%; DS 17%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Ray Haynes (R) termed out. Counties: Riverside, San Diego.

Conservative stalwart Ray Haynes is leaving the Legislature due to term limits, after a two decade career of stellar conservative leadership and commitment to the cause. Conservative activist and former Riverside GOP Central Committee Chairman Kevin Jeffries is the favorite to win this seat and keep the district in the hands of a committed conservative. During his term as Central Committee Chairman, Jeffries turned the county party around and made it an effective political machine. In the course of doing so he made enemies, prime among them the public employee unions. Hence the existence of a union-supported liberal in the GOP primary, Riverside City Councilman Steve Adams.

How much do the unions dislike Jeffries? So much that the local firefighters challenged Jeffries ballot designation as a "firefighter," even though he has been a volunteer fireman for nearly 30 years. Jeffries has the support of Haynes, along with Lew Uhler, Gun Owners of California, California YAF, and Senator Dennis Hollingsworth. Jeffries has $161,000 cash on hand compared to Adams' $108,000. Jeffries should win this race handily, but the fact that unions are now seeking to be major players in GOP primaries should concern any Republican who is not a RINO.

DISTRICT 67 *Reg: R 47%; D 31%; DS 18%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Tom Harman (R) elected to state Senate. County: Orange.

Ultimate RINO Tom Harman — one of the abom-

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inations who won his first "Republican" primary in the so-called "open primary" year 2000 only because Democrats were allowed to vote in it — was, unfortunately, just elected to the state Senate. But this bad news for the upper chamber could be good for the Assembly, because Harman's absence will be a unifying factor. This fascinating primary features wife-of-RINO Dianne Harman, Orange County Supervisor Jim Silva, and Cypress City Councilman Mike McGill.

Supervisor Silva is the putative front runner, though this is a race any of the three could win. Silva, having raised $276,000 and with much of the Orange County GOP establishment in his corner, had hoped for a one-on-one with Mrs. Harman, casting himself as the conservative candidate. The presence of McGill makes that impossible. In fact, some of Silva's past votes are so un-conservative Mrs. Harman might have used them to run to Silva's right. A chief Silva supervisorial *faux pas* was casting the deciding vote for a massive public employee pension spike widely seen as leading to another county bankruptcy. He has also refused to support local conservative candidates, many suspect as a sop to his union allies.

McGill has endorsements from CRA, the Jarvis Association, Lew Uhler, the Orange County YRs, and prominent conservative leader and Dana Point GOP Councilman Jim Lacy. McGill has made this a true three-way race, hammering hard at core Republican beliefs, which are still important to the GOP base vote. All together, he has raised more than $220,000 and is gaining support among state conservative leaders. Silva and Harman, who actually share one another's geographical (Huntington Beach) and ideological (moderate/liberal) bases, can be expected to start bashing each other at some point. McGill has the momentum here. The question is whether he can hold it and whether Silva's money edge and establishment support can hold on.

RINO-ette Mrs. Harman is running on her husband's name, period. However, that carries a special significance in this race because *his* state Senate district overlaps the 67th A.D. and *Mr.* Harman will be on the same Primary ballot as his wife.

He can, and certainly will, spend as much of the campaign funds he raises as he thinks necessary sending out generic "vote for Harman" messages that will boost both him and his wife. Her campaign coffers already show $145,000 raised, and all this might be enough to allow Dianne Harman to squeak by both Silva and McGill on the left. This will be one of the most interesting primaries to watch between now and June 6.

DISTRICT 72 *Reg: R 48%; D 31%; DS 17%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Lynn Daucher (R) termed out. County: Orange.

This Orange County district is occupied by Lynn Daucher, who, like the 67th's Tom Harman, won the GOP nomination only because Democrats were allowed to vote. The contest to succeed her probably should have shaped up to be a straightforward conservative *vs.* moderate duel, but it really isn't. Yorba Linda Mayor Mike Duvall is the conservative contender, while Brea Councilman Marty Simonoff is clearly to Duvall's left. Far enough left that Simonoff actually supported the now-infamous car tax hike, the repeal of which was Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger's first official act.

Yet Duvall, a successful businessman, has not been able to coalesce the local conservative establishment behind him. The absence of conservative leaders like Supervisor Chris Norby and Assemblyman Chuck DeVore indicate weaknesses in Duvall's campaign, as does burning through more than $70,000 in fundraising costs rung up to cover lavish event locales and pricey fundraising consultants.

However, on the issues, Duvall, with $138,000 currently in the bank, is clearly the conservative choice against Simonoff, who has $151,000 on hand. Duvall should win if he can convince the majority of GOP primary voters — who will be conservative — that he represents their philosophy better than a supporter of the car tax. He might just win this seat in spite of what, up to now, has been a less than perfect campaign.

DISTRICT 74 *Reg: R 46%; D 29%; DS 21%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Mark Wyland (R) termed out. County: San Diego.

This San Diego district is losing conservative leader Mark Wyland, but his replacement is sure to be another conservative in his mold.

Competing to succeed Wyland are Escondido Councilwoman Marie Waldron, businessman Martin Garrick, and Scott Packard, former Vista Councilman and son of former Congressman Ron Packard.

Waldron is a locally active conservative, and that has earned her the endorsements of Assemblyman Jay La Suer and Senator Dennis Hollingsworth. She has raised $195,000, though $100,000 of that is a personal loan.

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She has a loyal group of enthusiastic volunteer supporters, and in a low-turnout primary that could be decisive.

Garrick has extensive Reagan ties and is playing them to the hilt. Having worked in the Reagan for President national HQ in 1980, he then served on the transition team and afterwards filled several administration positions, including that of Deputy Senate-House Liaison. He is endorsed by a who's-who of Reaganites, including Ed Meese, William Clark, John Herrington, Martin Anderson, Ken Kachigian, and Congressman Dana Rohrabacher. He has raised $351,000, and as this is solid "Reagan Country," effective use of his Reagan resume with these voters will make a compelling case.

The wild card is Scott Packard, who at deadline had not filed finance reports. His father was a well-liked congressman, and still has many local ties and loyalties. With sufficient finances he could easily become a factor in the race. This could end up being a close three-way finish on election day.

DISTRICT 77 *Reg: R 47% D 30% DS 19%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Jay La Suer (R) termed out. County: San Diego.

With conservative incumbent Jay La Suer termed out, this San Diego district has the primary field most crowded with viable candidates — two conservatives and two liberals.

The conservative contenders are businessman and longtime conservative activist Joel Anderson and charter school principal Debbie Beyer. The GOP left is represented by nurse Nancy Beecham and Santee Councilman Jack Dale.

All are competitive financially, with the cash on hand figures being: Anderson — $142,000; Beyer — $85,000; Beecham — $132,000 and Dale — $91,000.

Former deputy sheriff La Suer is one of the most reliably conservative members of the Assembly, and this district has a strong majority of conservative GOP primary voters. But the conservative base is badly split. La Suer is strongly backing Beyer, along with Congressman Duncan Hunter, Assemblyman Tim Leslie, and former senator Dick Mountjoy. Anderson has the support of former Assemblyman Steve Baldwin, Senator Tom McClintock, Lew Uhler, the Jarvis Taxpayers Association, and the CRA. At this point most local observers give a slight edge to Anderson, based on his many years of work in the local conservative vineyards. He has been a ubiquitous presence at just about every local conservative gathering or campaign for many years. His is a familiar name and persona among those who vote in GOP primary elections.

The fear that an Anderson-Beyer standoff might hand the election to liberals Beecham or Dale is alleviated — only somewhat — by the fact that the RINO vote is also split. Both have big-name RINO support (former Assemblywoman and RINO extraordinaire Charlene Zettel supports Dale while the oh-so squishy California Congress of Republicans endorse Beecham) and hence the "we're not really sure why we're Republicans" vote will be split also.

It would be a real tragedy if this district sent a liberal Republican to the Assembly. Let us hope that Anderson or Beyer open up a strong lead by election day, thereby giving local conservative voters an obvious choice.

California Senate

Only three state Senate districts are noteworthy on the Republican side.

DISTRICT 12 *Reg: D 46%; R 38%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Jeff Denham (R) Counties: Madera, Merced, Monterey, San Benito, Stanislaus.

This central valley district — site of one of the closest elections four years ago — has incumbent GOP Senator Jeff Denham facing off against the Democrat District Attorney of Merced County George Nickel III. Both are unopposed in their primaries. This will be another knock-down, drag-out battle in the fall.

DISTRICT 14 *Reg: R 51%; D 33%; DS 12%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Chuck Poochigian (R) running for Attorney General. Counties: Fresno, Madera, Mariposa, San Joaquin, Stanislaus, Tuolumne.

Incumbent conservative GOP Senator Chuck Poochigian is running for Attorney General. He will be replaced — easily — by conservative GOP Assemblyman Dave Cogdill.

DISTRICT 38 *Reg: R 47%; D 28%; DS 20%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Bill Morrow (R) termed out. Counties: Orange, San Diego.

The conservative movement in California is losing a true champion as Bill Morrow is termed out of this Senate seat. The good news is that stalwart Morrow will be replaced by equally conservative Assemblyman Mark Wyland. CPR

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How the good ole' Democrat jackass morphed into a large, ugly vulture

By Senator H. L. 'Bill' Richardson [ret.]

Because of my many years as a conservative in elected office, people ask me, "how did we get in this mess we are in?" The great author Robert Louis Stevenson wisely said: "Sooner or later in life, we all sit down to a banquet of consequences." That's what's happening now. We're at the banquet. Here is a brief synopsis of *how* it happened.

Many Americans believe that the core religious values, which founded and sustained this nation, have been not only sadly neglected but forgotten. Now the public is finding out what political ignorance and religious apathy have created. While Godly people snoozed, small minorities of hedonists have inveigled their way into government and have been able to impose their political will upon the majority.

It didn't happen over night.

To understand all of this, we have to go back 100 years to the comments of a very wise man, President Theodore Roosevelt. I am going to repeat Roosevelt's words that I have quoted before in *California Political Review* ("A most uncivil war," Jan./Feb.) because they are the starting place for understanding our current political situation in America. "There are those who believe that a new modernity demands a new morality," Roosevelt said. "What they fail to consider is the harsh reality that there is no such thing as a new morality. There is only one morality. There is only true Christian ethics over against which stands the whole of paganism. If we are to fulfill our great destiny as a people, then we must return to the old morality, the sole morality."

Roosevelt saw moral slippage occurring at the beginning of the last century. He saw radical activists proclaiming a "new morality" embodying atheism and materi-

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alism. They were increasingly vocal on our college campuses and becoming more active in American politics, promoting their "new morality." They were also attempting to elect candidates to public office on the Socialist ticket.

In the beginning, the Socialists and their allies were singularly unsuccessful and remained small in number. The vast majority of Americans were happy with their liberty, with free enterprise, and with their constitutional government and the two party political system that implemented it.

At the beginning of the last century, a socialist by the name of Lenin put wheels under the world socialist movement. He lead a small minority of communists during the overthrow of Russia's Czarist government. When all the dust settled, his party emerged on top. In taking over Russia, Lenin developed a financial base and a national platform for the promotion of world socialism. After the First World War, the hard core left became more politically active in the United States. Lenin was an excellent organizer, and he and other socialist leaders realized that it was an impossible task to sell their bad tasting political medicine to the vast majority of Americans.

Norman Thomas, an early leader in the American socialist movement, said Americans would never knowingly adopt socialism but, under the name of "liberalism," would adopt every fragment of the socialist program until one day America would be a socialist nation without knowing how it happened. Following Thomas, the left abandoned its attempts to sell socialist programs as a third party, deciding it could till more fertile political ground within the two party system running as "liberals" and "progressives."

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Democrats were a weak political party, eager for new members. The left seized the opportunity and registered as Democrats, knowing that neither party requires anyone to pass a political litmus test to be a member or a candidate. All you have to do to run for office is register to vote, be of age, alive, not a felon, and have the money to file legally as a candidate. Socialists registered Democrat and campaigned on *any* issue that would win elections (rather than campaigning on socialist programs): say anything to win the office, then legislate as you please once *in* office.

These left-wing political leaders also took advantage of a well-known, but little appreciated, dynamic of American politics. They recognized that only one out of four Americans vote in primary elections and that multiple candidates often divide the primary vote, which meant (and still means) that a small percentage could nominate a candidate in those primaries. The left knew also that, by themselves, they were only a tiny percentage of the American population, but they saw that in local elections for school boards and city councils and supervisors, even small numbers can determine the outcome. If their Socialist candidates won local offices, they could establish a base of operations, then use that base to move step-by-step up to higher office, such as state representative, state senator, and, later, to the U.S. House and Senate.

The following is an actual example of how a small minority can win a major California state Senate office. Registration (in this case) heavily favored the Republican Party.

- District population approximately 600,000
- Those who could register to vote 400,000
- Those who bothered to register 235,000
- Total who voted in primary election 120,000
- Republican primary vote 70,000
- Democrat primary vote 50,000
- Eight candidates sought the Republican nomination
- The winning Republican candidate gained 16,000 votes ...

... and won handily. In the general election, he easily gained the senate seat and served for 22 years. Is this race an exception? No! It happens all the time. Realize the significance of only 16,000 votes out of a potential 400,000 that could have been cast. Think about it. Is it any wonder that a small, dedicated minority of voters could have a disproportionate impact on our government when three out of four Americans don't even register or bother to take part in primary elections, in the important process of selecting who their candidates will be? When one American was informed that much of the country's population suffered from both political ignorance and apathy, his yawning response was "I don't know and I don't care."

So the socialists, in Democrat garb, formulated a long-range plan with little to stand in their way. Since they were atheists and agnostics, they believed that any method that achieved socialist power was "ethical." The expression "the end justifies the means" became their motto and method of operation. Deception became the tool of their trade.

But even apathy and this socialist willingness to say or do anything to win were not, by themselves, enough. During the latter 1800s and early 1900s, the socialist base was still too small to elect their numbers to many

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offices; they had to attract additional support. Now clothed as liberals, they increased their numbers by wooing small, disgruntled, politically isolated segments of the population with promises of future political advantage. Adding small segment by small segment, their combined numbers could add up to enough votes to win primary elections. They first successfully wooed portions of the union movement. Then over the years they added support from anti-war pacifists, disgruntled feminists, environmental extremists, the homosexual community, and any other dissident group that could be wooed with future promises of legislative support. Adopting "class action" agitation, they pandered to any faction they could bring on board and exploit.

Norman Thomas said Americans would never knowingly adopt socialism but, under the name of 'liberalism,' would adopt every fragment of the socialist program.

During this growth phase, the left-wing leadership wisely kept the various segments separated, appealing to them directly but individually, addressing only each group's special interest. They knew there would be difficulties if they ever brought them all together: they certainly didn't want rank and file union members to meet with the "gay" community or the elderly with anti-war activists. The socialists knew that, with accurate polling information, they could continue to campaign on positions that appealed to average voters, seeming to adopt those positions without really doing so. In the same way, they also didn't have to broadcast who their real supporters happened to be.

The great depression of the 1930s brought Democrats, including a segment of the "liberal" Democrats, into power at all levels of government. The majority of Democrat legislators elected during the 1930s and '40s were still traditional Americans in their ethics and values. But over these many years, "liberal" leftist control over the inner workings of the Democrat Party structure increased dramatically. By the 1950s and '60s, this organized minority of leftists was ready to set forth to take control of the Democrat Party leadership. Few old-line Democrats saw trouble brewing or noticed the shift in leadership taking place within their own Party. But the old-time Democrat found out soon enough when he found himself gerrymandered out of his seat and replaced by a young leftist.

When I held office in state government during the 1970s and '80s, I saw the left grasp control over the political fortunes of the Democrat Party. On a first hand basis, right before my own eyes, I watched it happen. Whenever the opportunity presented itself, they effectively and systematically eliminated conservative Democrat office holders within their ranks. Today, socialists are the dominant voice in the Party's elected leadership. Because they are now in control, they control candidate funding, thereby controlling those who wish to be elected and leveraging Democrat incumbents who wish to be returned to office.

Under the circumstances, perhaps the good ole' hard-working jackass, the symbol of the Democrats, should be exchanged for the condor, a bird far more in keeping with today's hard-left slant of the Party. After all, a condor is a large, ugly vulture that feeds on carrion. It stays afloat on hot air and deserts it's young when frightened. Its defense mechanism is to throw up a stream of simi-digested meat on its enemies. The bird can't survive near civilization and tends toward extinction in proximity to civilized society. To keep it alive in California, the government now subsidizes its food. But the condor survives quite well in backward South American countries. Could anyone think of a more appropriate symbol for a left-wing socialist movement?

Over the past 50 years, controlling the vast wealth created through taxation, they have built a huge federal, state, and local bureaucracy that not only employs their allies but implements a wealth of programs that reflects the wishes of their base: union power structures, homosexuals, feminists, anti-war pacifists, and the rest. Through laws, they have dramatically increased their power and have brought about what Norman Thomas hoped would happen: the American people, never knowingly adopting socialism, under the name of liberalism adopting every fragment of the socialist program until one day America will be a socialist nation without ever knowing how it happened.

Fortunately, a lot of Americans are aware of what is happening, how it is happening, and are trying to inform their neighbors. Millions of Americans still hold to the core traditional and religious values that founded this nation and, properly informed, are working diligently to see the left in both parties routed out of our Constitutional government.

The first glimmer of hope came with the Republican

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nomination of Barry Goldwater for president in the 1960s. Although soundly defeated in the general election, he had already in the primary defeated the darling of the left-leaning Republicans, Nelson Rockefeller. Conservatives rallied to work for Goldwater and didn't quit working after his defeat. In the 1966 California governor's race, they defeated the "moderates" in the primary, nominating and then electing something now as rare as a right-winger in Hillary Clinton's staff — a conservative actor.

The fledgling revolt for American core values was under way. Activist organizations began to crop up all over America, politically unsophisticated but eager to learn. Fourteen years later, they nominated and elected Ronald Reagan as president.

In 1994, the lower House of Congress went Republican and its leadership shifted to conservative. Was liberalism dead? Not by a long sight. Liberals had managed to control both Congressional Houses for 40 years. Republicans held narrow margins but, with a few "moderate" RINOs (Republicans in name only) in their midst, their control was, and remains, iffy. Having achieved substantial success among Democrats, the socialists had also moved to influence the Republican Party, encouraging the candidacies of liberal or "moderate" Republicans. Leftist support of RINOs helped them become a small dissident element in the GOP. Small but mouthy, they are the croaking frogs on Republican lily pads.

The lefties were deeply embedded in the Northeastern states and were the controlling factor in most of the nation's large cities.

However, they were increasingly having problems within their own ranks.

The splinter groups they'd attracted and wooed began to make demands. They had contributed to the Democrat victories; now they wanted their reward. They wanted more of their own elected to office and their issues enacted into law. Instead of being splinter groups kept in the closet, they demanded to be heard. Subsequently, their wishes began to become part of our laws.

There is a truism in economic circles: "bad money drives out good." The same is true in politics. Bad people drive out good ones; bad Democrats drive out better ones. They — the dissonant — are now running the "democratic" Party, a tail wagging the old "Democrat" donkey. The anti-war, pro-abort, environmental extremists, soft on crime, big spending liberals, feminists, and deviants of both sexes call the Party's political tune, marching hand in hand in "gay" parades. The large body of old rank and file Democrats scratch their heads and wonder "what's going on?"

The shift at the top set off big changes throughout the Party. The South, traditionally Democrat but fundamentally religious, has turned Republican — not for any great love of the Republican Party *per se*, but out of disgust over the leftward drift of their own Party.

Democrat candidates have lost seven out of the 10 presidential elections since the Johnson/Goldwater race in 1964. Elected Democrats, hoping to win higher offices and recognizing that the base of the Party has become a collection of wacko wonks, are trying to cover and obfuscate by constantly attacking their opposition as "extreme," as haters of the poor, or as religious bigots. Their rhetoric becomes increasingly wild as they try to please their base while seeking to appear moderate to average voters. It ain't working.

They are in trouble and they know it. The governmental bureaucracy, which houses and provides jobs for their supporters, is threatened. Their economic base is vulnerable. Their future is suspect. How can they send Junior and Zelda to Harvard if they are outa' work? Therefore their attacks become more vicious and the thin veneer of civility wears off the "democratic" façade. It is especially obvious when a conservative-leaning judge is nominated to the Supreme Court and we all see how uncivil and uncouth they really are.

They started as a minority and remain a minority. The big difference now is that, during the last hundred years, they have embedded themselves and their unworkable policies in all facets of government — including education and segments of the major media.

They can be routed out but they won't go willingly. They have worked hard to get where they are and remain determined to shove their socialist programs down our collective throats. They are nasty people — rub off that thin veneer of civility and see for yourselves.

Theodore Roosevelt also said, "All those blatant sham reformers, in the name of new morality, preach the old, old vice and self-indulgence which rotted out first the moral fiber and then even the external greatness of Greece and Rome."

Is America next? Are we to be "rotted out by sham reformers?" Are we to be apathetic Americans who say, "I don't know and I don't care!"

I don't think so. I believe we are at the banquet and Americans are feasting on the political consequences of the last 100 years. But they don't like the taste of the political concoctions they've been fed and are demanding and working for change. CPR

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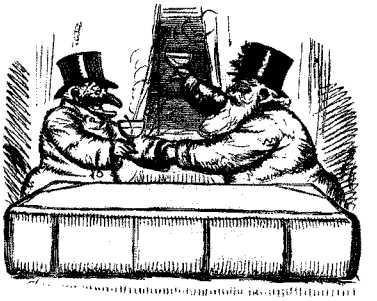

CRITICUS

Un-Lyrical Ballads

BY G. B. TENNYSON

Poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings: it takes its origin from emotion recollected in tranquility.

— William Wordsworth, preface to *Lyrical Ballads*

IT WAS at one of those convivial bimonthly sessions at the Critical homestead where some of the movers and shakers of *CPR* foregather to gaze upon and toast the appearance of the latest issue that Criticus said, "Here are some coasters," as he placed them on the table. *CPR's* jovial Martini Muser remarked, "Oh, will they sing to me?" This elicited a blank stare from Criticus, who said, "Why should they?" "Well because they are Coasters," replied Saracino. Continued blank stare from Criticus as he said, "Do coasters sing?"

Probably by now most readers have realized that the punning reference was to a musical group known as The Coasters. Criticus had never heard of them.

In subsequent days as Criticus sporadically thought about it, it became obvious to him that he had never heard of most groups and most songs that had been entertaining the rude multitude for the past forty years and more. There were some exceptions of course. He had heard of both the Beatles and Elvis Presley, but that was because they and their music were so pervasive that even if one thought them largely uninteresting, one could not help but hear their sounds pouring forth in all manner of public places. Besides, they were celebrities, and one cannot miss them on the checkout lines. Criticus also knew of someone called Bob Dylan. He was, Criticus thought, a so-called "protest singer," though exactly what he was protesting was never entirely clear. I suppose it was the Vietnam War. Criticus had never actually, knowingly heard him sing, but he had heard others sing a song or two that he had written. One was called "Blowing in the Wind." The words made no particular sense to Criticus, though evidently they spoke to many. Even Marlene Dietrich, before she went into hiding for the last 10 years of her long life, saw fit to record the song, and in very mournful tones, but the lyrics still remained opaque.

Then by chance Criticus heard on the car radio the song "He Was a Friend of Mine," which Criticus knew from having heard it fairly movingly rendered in natural country twang by Willie Nelson. This time it was sung

G.B. Tennyson is in general an unreconstructed laudator temporis acti, *and when it comes to melodious and lyrical popular music, he believes it is not dead, only slumbering, and will rise again.*

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by the composer himself, none other than Bob Dylan it turned out. If that's the way Bob Dylan generally sounds, he should have been prevented by law from ever singing in public. The whining, high-pitched, nasal, faux-country wail that came through the radio seemed to me like something that would cause dogs to yelp, wolves to howl, and would likely frighten the horses. I hadn't been missing anything by not having heard Dylan all these years.

BUT THIS was only the beginning of the musical education of rock-virgin Criticus, as we may style him. As sometimes happens to everyone, when a previously unregarded or even unknown subject or name or title comes to one's attention, then one starts encountering it everywhere. It almost seems like a plot. What it probably means is only that in the past the subject or name or title *was* encountered but ignored or dispensed with in favor of other topics, other interests. So it must have been with Criticus and the great bulk of popular music from the advent of rock and roll to the present. But from the casual business of the coasters — or Coasters — came a torrent of references and allusions to the whole world of pop music.

First, it was the Academy Awards with the execrable winning song, "It's Hard out Here for a Pimp." One read that the Awards producer Gilbert Cates had examined the lyrics to the song before the ceremony and had ruled out three words as unallowable in the broadcast, while permitting two words usually avoided in mainstream broadcasts, namely one beginning with *b*-- and one with *b*--.

This put Criticus in research mode and he was able to track down the full lyrics, to use the word loosely, which, however, he forbears to publish in full in a proper publication like *CPR*. Let me say only that the Academy-forbidden words begin with the following letters, *f*, *n*, and *s*, and that the chorus, sung twice between verses, reads as follows: "You know it's hard out here for a pimp (You ain't knowin') / When he's tryin' to get this money for the rent (You ain't knowin') / For the Cadillacs and gas money spent (You ain't knowin') / Because a whole lot of b-----s talkin' s--- (You ain't knowin')."

Now Criticus is not saying that all pop music for the past generation is as mindless and as charmless as the lyrics just quoted. But he is suggesting that the drift of much of that music has contributed to the hopeless ugliness of rap and hip-hop, an ugliness of sound and words that appears to reflect a deep spiritual ugliness within. In fairness to the earlier wave of composers and presenters of pop music Criticus notes that not all of us who remember a happier musical time have been unable to make the transition to what I suppose would be thought of as the mainstream of pop music. Startlingly, I find that William F. Buckley, Jr., now 80, has written an entire book on the glories of the music of Elvis Presley and that some government agency has declared Presley's Graceland home to be a national historical landmark. Soon I expect a report that Elvis's face has appeared on a tortilla alongside that of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Equally startling as the Buckley book is the fact that the distinguished British literary scholar Christopher Ricks has written a book on the glories of the lyrics of Bob Dylan. Criticus admits that he has read neither book, so he merely notes that they exist and that he finds their existence surprising. Evidently the great public does not.

EVEN MORE *outré* than the foregoing is the knowledge Criticus bumped into, or that bumped into him, that there are many pop music critics who have declared that Eminem (*né* Marshall Mathers) is a genius. This sent Criticus once more into research mode. He was easily able to track down lyrics to some Eminem songs. They are quite foul. He has one titled "Just Don't Give a F***" and another titled "Still Don't Give a F***". Such titles are entirely typical of his *oeuvre*. The actual lyrics to these and all the other Eminem songs I turned up make "It's Hard out Here for a Pimp" read like the lyrics to "Happy Birthday." They are all unprintable here. And

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although occasionally Eminem comes up with an actual rhyme, as opposed to rap's penchant for slant and off-rhymes, and even more occasionally he actually has a clever rhyme, most of the time his rhymes are quite pedestrian. Still, Eminem claims that he is pleased at having been able to push the limits of free speech. Yes, but does he use the "N" word?

Even more outré is the knowledge criticus bumped into, or that bumped into him, that there are many pop music critics who have declared that Eminem (né Marshall Mathers) is a genius.

By now I'm sure that some fair-minded Constant Readers are thinking that Criticus has stacked the deck, fixing upon the worst of contemporary music to paint all of it with the same brush. There's some truth in such a charge. Such extreme tactics are what a polemicist does to make his point. So, in the spirit of fair-mindedness Criticus consulted the radio listings in the newspaper and was not surprised to discover that the three largest music listening categories were: "adult contemporary," "rock," and "rock oldies," which added together amount to nineteen stations. Throw in the category of "urban contemporary" (namely the sort of sound I have been excoriating) and the total swells to twenty-one. By contrast, the categories Criticus likes, namely "classical," "country," "jazz/big band/pop standards," taken all together number only seven stations. No question where popularity lies. But does that make it better? One cannot help but recall when the Beatles proclaimed that they were more popular than Jesus.

In spite of all this, Criticus did sample some of the twenty-one stations. One that featured "soft rock" was unobjectionable and rather like elevator music, but I doubt that such is the rock fans' favorite. Most of the rest sounded like the cacophonous sounds one hears all around, in my case usually by accident: a car rolls up next to one at a stoplight and the radio blares out rock; in the gym the management elects to feed rock as background music; on television at the Super Bowl one encounters the Rolling Stones prancing about the stage to noisy sounds. (Query: why do rock performers insist upon moving all about and constantly pointing fingers at the audience?) Based on such exposure and my rapid run through radio stations, Criticus came to the conclusion that the distinguishing characteristics of rock music are an insistent, emphatic, mind-numbing beat, an absence of much in the way of melody, and poor, childishly poor, lyrics.

According to the Critical views just expressed, no discriminating person should like rock music, but as we know from my references to Buckley and Ricks, many such persons do. And no sooner had I done my radio tour than I came across two further instances of what I take to be discriminating persons liking rock music. Both leapt out at me from the pages of the latest incarnation of the *Los Angeles Times* Sunday magazine, now called *West.* One was an article by J.B. Moehringer about spending a day in Frank Sinatra's Palm Springs love nest where Sinatra and Ava Gardner consorted and slugged it out. Moehringer holds Sinatra in the highest reverence, so when he writes "In your iPod at this moment are U2, Mary J. Blige, Death Cab for Cutie," he immediately claims that none of these can do for the soul what Sinatra does. But the point is that he knows and listens to all these performers and groups, so he too can like both the old and the new. Criticus has never wanted an iPod, and he still doesn't.

At the back of the book in the same issue of *West* we find the regular columnist Dan Neil devoting his "800 Words" (the title of his column) to a guitar-playing singer and composer named Neil Young. From the way Dan Neil writes I get the impression that I may be the only person in the world who had before now never heard of Neil Young. Dan Neil writes:

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Criticus had not realized that P.G. Wodehouse had been a Broadway lyricist. In fact, the author of all those droll Jeeves books wrote the lyrics for 28 Broadway musicals between 1917 and 1928.

"Outside of Woody Guthrie, the Beatles and maybe Bob Dylan, Neil Young is probably responsible for more guitar purchases than anyone in history." Criticus was almost persuaded that he might find some of Young's songs bearable, but Criticus also notes that Dan Neil describes Young as follows: "That singing-saw voice, that wood-chopping style of hammer-on guitar, the occasional lyric so unvarnished as to splinter into complete weirdness."

IT WAS at this point that Criticus fully realized that what it was he most missed in pop and rock and all the rest was quite simply — lyrics. That is to say intelligible and intelligent lyrics, not inane lyrics obscured by rhythmic noise played too loud. The songs referred to as standards had lyrics. They were often sugary and sentimental (the June-Moon school), but they were more often clever, intricate, and verbally sophisticated (think Cole Porter and Noël Coward). And because they complemented the melodies they came with, the lyrics to the standards were, in the words of one of them "so easy to remember, and so hard to forget."

There were in my view two main sources for pop standards, the Broadway musical and the songs written independently by Tin Pan Alley composers. These were later augmented by songs written for big bands and Hollywood with some admixture of jazz songs joining the stream. In some cases, of course, all these overlapped, as when Hollywood created its own musicals and when a Broadway composer was lured to Hollywood. There's a fair amount of scholarship devoted to the composers of these standards and to the Broadway musical in general, but not a great deal to the lyrics and lyricists. Criticus did not have the time to do much research on the matter, but he can call the attention of Constant Readers to three works of particular interest in the matter of lyrics. One is *Word Crazy: Broadway Lyricists from Cohan to Sondheim* by Thomas C. Hischak (Praeger, 1991). It treats about twenty lyricists, but its heart is with the great dozen or so from the heyday of the Broadway musical. The other is more specialized but can stand for the rather small number of books that deal with an individual lyricist and one who was not part of the Broadway musical scene but rather of the Hollywood world. The work in question is *Our Huckleberry Friend: The Life, Times and Lyrics of Johnny Mercer* by Bob Bach and Ginger Mercer (Lyle Stuart, 1982). The third is Ira Gershwin's own *Lyrics on Several Occasions* (Viking, 1959). The lesser known Gershwin, namely, Ira, bridges Broadway and Hollywood.

Hischak on the Broadway musical says that lyrics are the stepchild in the great bulk of studies of the musical. Nevertheless, he points out that without the lyrics the musical would not exist. He claims that "lyricists are the unsung heroes in the creation of the musical theatre." Amen. This is no place to write a review of Hischak's book, but I cannot forbear to point out a few of its special virtues for those who care about lyrics. There is, for instance, a chapter on P.G. Wodehouse who in Hischak's view paved the way for Ira Gershwin, Cole Porter, and Lorenz Hart. Frankly, Criticus had not realized that Wodehouse had been a Broadway lyricist at all. In fact, the author of all those droll Jeeves books wrote the lyrics for twenty-eight Broadway musicals between 1917 and 1928. One song that most will know was "Bill," which was

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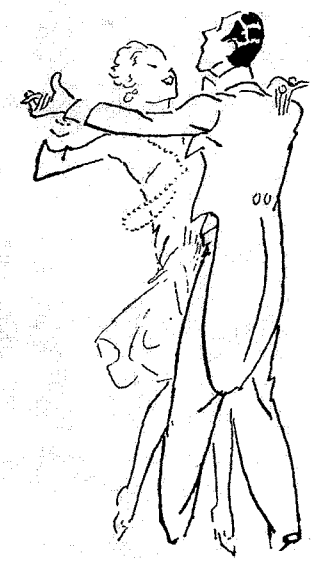
dropped from its original musical and then picked up and inserted into *Showboat* alongside the show's other songs with Hammerstein's lyrics. Constant Readers will remember "And I can't explain, / It's surely not his brain / That makes me thrill. / I love him because he's — I don't know — / Because he's just my Bill."

Hischak does justice also to the greats like Cole Porter who was so adept at innuendo. (Criticus adds that it is a treat to hear Noël Coward supply his own sly words to Porter's already suggestive "Let's Do It.") Another Critical favorite, Dorothy Fields, gets fine treatment, though a question Criticus has long pondered about the Fields classic "On the Sunny Side of the Street" is not addressed. For anyone able to answer, that question is, was the line now heard as "If I never had a cent, / I'd be rich as Rockefeller" originally written as "If I never had a dime, / I'd be rich as Rockefeller"? The story goes that it was changed under pressure from the Rockefellers because John D. was famous in his time for passing out dimes to schoolchildren. It sounds persuasive to me, but possibly it was the other way round; that is, popular renditions changed Fields's "cent" to "dime" in ridicule of the multi-millionaire Rockefeller being so niggardly in his charity.



ONE THING these reflections on lyrics show is that the words of the standards did carry meaning and were in fact poetry, not merely reiterated grunts. This was true also outside of Broadway musicals, which is why I called attention to the volume on Johnny Mercer. True, Mercer was involved with three Broadway musicals, but they were never great hits. Mercer was at his best as the lyricist for songs for films. More of the films have been forgotten than Mercer's lyrics. Whether for films or as stand alone songs, Mercer's lyrics are absolutely superb, ranging from the comic ("Hooray for Hollywood") to the soulful ("Blues in the Night") to the rueful ("One for My Baby") to the haunting ("Laura,") to the sorrowful ("Days of Wine and Roses") to the purely romantic ("Moon River"). (The story goes that during the filming of *Breakfast at Tiffany's* the producer announced that he was dropping "Moon River," and Audrey Hepburn rose in fury saying, "If that song goes, I go." Of course it remained.) Without ever being able to speak French, Mercer even succeeded in rendering into English those French classics so strongly associated with Edith Piaf — "Autumn Leaves" ("Les feuilles mortes") and "When the World was Young" ("Le chevalier de Paris"), this latter also known as "Ah, the apple trees." Now that's a lyricist.

To counterbalance some of the lyrics and titles given in the first part of this ramble I offer an example of what Mercer can do with a lyric inspired by a single evocative phrase in a line of poetry, in this case a phrase from a poem by the late-Victorian English poet Ernest Dowson. The line runs: "They are not long, the days of wine and roses," and the phrase "days of wine and roses" became the title of a 1962 film starring Jack Lemmon and Lee Remick. To go with the title and the sad story of an alcoholic couple on the way to ruin, Mercer wrote to Henry Mancini's music a two-stanza lyric in only two sentences: "The days of wine and roses / Laugh and run away / Like a child at play / Through the meadowland / Toward a closing door, / A door marked "Nevermore," / That wasn't there before. // The lonely night discloses / Just a passing breeze / Filled with memories / Of the golden smile that introduced me to / The days of wine and roses and you."

For reasons of space I leave the case for Ira Gershwin for readers to discover from his own account cited above, *Lyrics on Several Occasions.* I also note that there have been collections of the lyrics of some notable lyricists, namely Oscar Hammerstein II, Lorenz Hart, Cole Porter, and Alan Jay Lerner. There are probably others that I know not of. And there are certainly others whose lyrics ought to be collected and published. When Eminem is dead and forgotten the lyrics of popular songs will still resonate with cultivated minds.

One thing that seems clear to me is that while the lyrics of rock, rap, hip-hop and their brethren may have been occasioned by powerful emotions, as Wordsworth had it, they appear not to have been recollected in tranquility but allowed to shout themselves hoarse. By contrast the lyrics of the standards satisfy both Wordsworthian criteria and are indeed poetry. We are lucky to have them. CPR

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First Things

Life

by John Kurzweil

He [the devil], from the first, was a murderer ....

—John 8:44

WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, in his memoir *Witness*, wrote that "the revolutionary heart of Communism is not the theatrical appeal: 'Workers of the world, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain.' It is a simple statement of Karl Marx, further simplified for handy use: 'Philosophers have explained the world; it is necessary to change the world.'"

Chambers had, for years, believed Marx's empty notion that Communism actually held some sort of positive promise — you have a world to gain — which, perhaps, explains why he dismissed the "theatrical" "nothing to lose" line. But the revolutionary heart of Communism in fact is precisely the despairing conviction that the world as it is is so bad that we have "nothing to lose" by destroying it. Communism's clarion call to what has always turned out to be no more than brutal destructiveness is justified not by any faith in a "changed" or "gained" world — words vaguely suggestive of something better to be achieved, but a "better" condition that neither Marx nor any other Communist bothers to explain in detail or shows even so much as a passing interest in considering seriously. The heart of the matter is despair and a consequent immersion in boundless anger, which issues in nothing more than a compulsion to destroy. Thus Marx finds it quite enough to call merely for "change" — not improvement — of the world, as if to emphasize that the horrors of our existence are so complete and irremediable that any change no matter to what *must* be an improvement or, at least, cannot possibly make things worse. As David Horowitz wrote in *Destructive Generation*, to communism "everything human is alien."

Chambers goes on to notice that communism is "man's second oldest faith. Its promise was whispered in the first days of the Creation under the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil: 'Ye shall be as gods.'" And the devil, like a good Communist, blithely neglects to say what being like "gods" actually means. "The Communist vision," Chambers concludes, "is the vision of Man without God" — abruptly returning to the negative: a vision defined by what is missing from it — God — not by anything that it actually *is*.

FIRST THINGS are life's foundational building blocks and, like any building, life cannot even be begun without its foundation. As the first column in this space noted, *the* first thing is God. It is plain when we look around us that the vision of Man without God ruthlessly, but irresistibly, removes every particle of foundation capable of supporting us. Good loses all objective meaning, becoming whatever is necessary to advance the cause, such that "any act," wrote Alexander Solzhenitsyn, "including murder, even the killing of hundreds of thousands, could be good or could be bad" depending on its implications for the cause: the cause that itself is nothing but sheer destructiveness.

SO LIFE too is the enemy. From abortion to suicide, from O.J. getting away with it to murdering Terri Schiavo, from implacable opposition to death penalties exacted in defense of innocent life to a calm acceptance of mass murder as long as it is committed by Saddam Husseins contemptuous of human life — murder is a *cause célèbre*, a First Thing — for the devil, and for the left.

In siege warfare, sappers attack a fortress by digging to undermine the walls those within rely upon for their defense. Just as the left promotes murder at every opportunity, it also saps normal peoples' devotion to life itself, an undermining operation that is far advanced. Those who wish our civilization well, take note.

Next: Love

CPR

John Kurzweil is CPR's *editor.*

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